A BRIEF HISTORY OF

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE

BY

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PREFACE

When the author's *History of the English Language* was passing through the press, a friend suggested the advisability of preparing a brief book on the same subject for schools not desiring the longer work. This suggestion, together with the success accorded to the larger book in this country and abroad, largely accounts for the present volume.

The aim has been to shorten and simplify the *History* by the omission of technical details, especially regarding the phonology of the language, without changing materially the scope of the former work. Each part has been rewritten or much altered, usually by omission, but sometimes also by addition and rearrangement. The greatest changes have been made in Parts IV and V. In Part IV the history of English sounds has been replaced by some chapters illustrating the most important and characteristic changes in the forms of words. It is hoped that these chapters, without being too technical, will emphasize the importance of phonetic change, analogy, and accent. They also make it possible to treat inflections on a phonetic, rather than an orthographic basis, thus simplifying classification and arrangement.

In Part V some advantageous changes in order have been made. The most noticeable of these is in treating the weak verbs before the strong. This order, while not adopted in the larger work, is quite in accord with the plan of both ; namely, to give prominence to those elements of the language which have been most stable and most important. The weak verbs were not only more numerous than the strong in the oldest period, but have increased in number and influence at the expense of the latter. Besides, the present arrangement not only emphasizes the more regular weak class, but also brings together all the less regular classes, — an advantage in itself.

As in the larger work, much emphasis has been laid upon the spoken language. Yet the latter has been by no means exhaustively treated, and teachers are urged to stimulate observation of language as it exists about them in speech, in order both to explain its forms with relation to older usage, and to illustrate the influences that have shaped English in the past. Indeed, as the greatest recent advance in linguistic research has been made through a study of speech forms as used by common people day by day, too great stress cannot be placed upon the interest and advantage still to be gained from the same process.

Some selections representing Old, Modern, and Middle English will be found in the Appendix. To these, notes have been freely added, so as to facilitate their use in illustrating changes which English has undergone. Other specimens may be easily obtained from the Old English readers,

and from *Specimens of Early English*, by Morris and Skeat.

In the larger work reference was frequently made to authorities, — first as an acknowledgment of the author's indebtedness, second as a guide to the student in the choice of books for further study. It has not seemed necessary to repeat such references in this briefer book, as teachers and advanced students will naturally expect to use the larger *History* for reference.

O. F. E.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 1, 1896.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Lat. = Latin.

ME. = Middle English (1100–1500)

MnE. = Modern English (1500–   ).

OE. = Old English (800–1100).

WS. = West Saxon.

< = " from," or " derived from."

> = " to."

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ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES

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CHAPTER I

THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY

1. The history of English properly begins with the first traces of the language in the land which has been for so long the home of the English people. Yet there will be much advantage in going back of this and asking, " How far is English different from the other languages of civilized peoples?" "To what languages is English most closely allied, and what are the grounds of these alliances?" The answers to these questions will show with what languages English may be most profitably compared, as well as what are its most characteristic features.

2. Far from being an isolated language in any sense, English is but one of an important group making up what is known as the Indo-European family. By a family of languages is meant a group bound together by essential similarities in the forms and uses of words. Such a family is often subdivided into various branches, each of which is itself composed of one or more languages. The languages of each branch are also bound together by other similarities

in words and forms, which are more or less independent of those characterizing the family itself.

3. A family of languages presupposes original union of all members of the group within a limited area, in other words a common home and a common ancestry. On the other hand, the separation of the family into various linguistic divisions is owing to changes which are inevitable in language. The common language of the original family became gradually broken up into separate speech groups, on account of the gradual breaking up into separate tribal groups as the people pushed out in various directions in search of new homes. Even slight barriers between two divisions, as a river or mountain range, would be sufficient to account for the beginning of speech divisions, or dialects, which might finally become new languages.

4. Each division of the original family came to have new words, new forms of inflection, and new usages in grouping words, or what is called syntax. It might at first be thought that this divergence would soon become so great as to prevent finding any likeness between the separate divisions. But, on the other hand, there would be a strong tendency to retain, along with the new elements, many common every-day words. For instance, constant usage would tend to prevent the loss of many names, as of common trees and shrubs, common domestic animals, common metals and arts, as well as names of close relationship, — father, mother, son, daughter, and others. In a similar way the commonest verbs, pronouns, and adjectives would be more likely to be kept than lost. A study of these simple words of various languages, as well as of the simplest grammatical forms,

enables the philologist to find links connecting one language with another, and uniting several groups into a single family.

5. The reference to the common home of the original members of a family or group might seem to imply blood relationship, as well as linguistic ties. But language is not a race characteristic. While blood relationship is always possible, and often extremely probable, it is not proved by the possession of the same or of similar languages. Many facts illustrate this. The Irish and Scotch speak English, as do many of the natives of India. The African race in America has preserved few, if any, remnants of its native language, and uses no other than that learned from the descendants of the English settlers. In referring to the linguistic connections of English, therefore, race connections are not necessarily implied.

6. There are not only many languages, but many families of languages, known among men. At least one hundred families are known to exist, although only four have been studied with a considerable degree of thoroughness. The others include especially the native languages of America and Africa, all of which are difficult to study because almost without literature and constantly undergoing great changes. The four families which have been most thoroughly investigated are the Hamitic, Semitic, Ural-Altaic, and Indo-European. Of these the Indo-European family is by far the most important, since it includes the languages spoken in ancient and modern times by the dominant races of Europe and Asia. Next in importance is the Semitic family, since it embraces languages spoken by peoples

which have had great influence on the world's history in general, and on the Indo-European races in particular.

7. As the name Indo-European implies, the family consists of languages spoken at some time in India and Europe. The term Indo-European, however, is not as accurate as might be desired. India does not include all the parts of Asia in which languages of the Indo-European type have been spoken, and Europe, on the other hand, is somewhat too general. Other names applied to the family are Aryan and Indo-Germanic, the former more commonly in England, the latter in Germany. Objections might be urged against each of these, and on the whole Indo-European seems to have somewhat the advantage of either of the others. In any case the exact application of the name must be learned from a consideration of the kind and number of languages included in the family.

8. As to kind, the Indo-European family includes languages of the inflectional type. By this is meant that the words of the individual languages of the family are made up of roots and inflectional endings, or modifying parts, which are so united that it is difficult and often impossible to separate them into their elements. In this latter respect the Indo-European languages differ from those in which the roots and modifying parts are more loosely connected, or agglutinative languages, as they are called. Other languages, as Chinese, are made up of separate roots which, though used together in forming sentences and compound words, still maintain their separate identity. After being used together the words at once fall apart, to be reunited into equally loose combinations. Such languages are called isolating.

9. Languages of the inflectional type, like the Indo-European, are supposed to have passed through both the other stages of development. There was first a root period, as it is called, in which no trace of inflection existed, as none exists in Chinese to-day. Later, roots and the minor words which afterwards became inflectional suffixes or prefixes were loosely joined into compounds. Finally these two elements of the word became fused into one, so that there was no longer any thought of the separate parts. The two or more parts then became indistinguishable except to the student of language, and even the philologist often hesitates to speak with certainty as to the exact dividing line between one part and another.

10. The Indo-European family of languages includes several important branches. The exact number has been variously given in the past, as scholars have variously estimated the importance of certain characteristics of each group. Thus from seven to ten divisions are made by different scholars, the most reliable authority at present placing the number at eight. As is natural, most of these must again be separated into important subdivisions. The eight branches of Indo-European are **Aryan, Armenian, Hellenic, Albanian, Italic, Celtic, Balto-Slavic,** and **Teutonic.** A brief description of each, with some account of the most important subdivisions, will make clear the relationships of these several branches.

11. The **Aryan** branch consists of two groups, the Indian and the Iranian, often separated in the past into independent divisions. The Indian, in the older time, consisted of a literary language called Sanskrit, and a vulgar language

called Prakrit. The first is found in the *Veda*, or Brahmanic scriptures, and in later classical writings. From the latter have developed the numerous dialects of modern India, while one form of Prakrit also became the literary language of the Buddhists. The Iranian group is represented by the cuneiform inscriptions of the oldest Persian, by the Avestic or Zend, the language of the sacred books of Zoroaster, and by the modern Persian, Kurdish, and Afghan. The oldest Indian literature, the *Veda*, is perhaps as old as 1500 B.C., while the oldest Persian belongs to the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

12. The Armenian branch was formerly classed as a member of the Iranian group, but it is now given an independent position in the Indo-European family. It is represented by a literary language, Old Armenian, which is found in the books of the early Armenian Christians, and by the living dialects of Armenia. Old Armenian dates from the fifth century A.D.

13. To the Hellenic branch belong the numerous Greek dialects of ancient and modern times. Ancient Greek is known from inscriptions, and from the literary language which was common to all Greeks. The latter sprang from the Attic dialect in the fifth century B.C., and soon became the standard language for all divisions of the race. It therefore contains almost all of what is known as Greek literature. Outside the literary language, various dialects continued to be spoken, and these form the basis of the dialects of modern Greece. From these, in modern times, has arisen a new literary language, Modern Greek, which is used by the writers of the new Greek nation.

14. The **Albanian** language is now the only representative of an Indo-European branch which, at one time, may have been somewhat widely extended. Albanian is the language of ancient Illyria, and has been known especially since the seventeenth century. It is relatively of little importance except to the philologist, who finds in it a connecting link with the Aryan, Armenian, and Balto-Slavic.

15. The **Italic** branch embraced in ancient times the dialects of Italy. Of these, Latin, the dialect of Latium, became the literary language of ancient Rome, and later, of the Roman empire. In addition to Latin, the Italic branch included an Umbrian-Samnitic group, of which the most important dialects were Umbrian and Oscan. These, however, were overshadowed by Latin, and gradually became extinct. Beside literary Latin, there existed in the Roman empire a vulgar tongue which, as spoken in the provinces, developed into the modern Romance languages. The most important of these are French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.

16. Languages of the **Celtic** branch were formerly spoken over most of western Europe, but later were largely displaced by the Romance languages and English. Celtic was also the language of Galatia in Asia Minor. The Celtic branch included three groups, Gallic, Britannic, and Gaelic. Of the first, the language of ancient Gaul, little is known. Britannic included Welsh and Cornish in Britain, and Armorican in northern France. Welsh and Armorican are known from the eighth or ninth century, Cornish from a somewhat later time. The latter died out about a century ago. Gaelic consists of Irish, Scotch-Gaelic, and Manx.

Of these, Irish is the most important, since it is represented by an extensive literature from the eighth century, and by inscriptions which are possibly as old as 500 A.D. Scotch-Gaelic literature began somewhat later, and Manx has been known only in the last few centuries.

17. The **Balto-Slavic** branch consists of two divisions. To the first, the Baltic division, belong Prussian, Lithuanian, and Lettic. The first died out in the seventeenth century. Of the others, Lithuanian is the more important for philological purposes. The second, or Slavic division, falls into two geographical groups, the southeastern and the western. To the southeastern group belong Russian, Bulgarian, and Illyrian ; to the western, Bohemian, Sorabian, and Polish. Of these, Bulgarian was used by the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, and it thus became the ecclesiastical language of the Greek church. A form of it, modified by Russian and other Slavic elements, is called Church Slavonic.

18. The **Teutonic** branch, in which we are especially interested, includes, among others, English, German, Dutch, and the Scandinavian languages. Its oldest representative is Gothic, which is preserved in a partial translation of the Bible, made in the fourth century A.D. The Scandinavian languages are known from runic inscriptions of the fourth century. The earliest records of the other members of the Teutonic group, English, Frisian, Saxon, Low Franconian, and High German, date from the seventh to the ninth century, with the exception of Frisian, which has been known only from the fourteenth century. But a complete description of the Teutonic languages must be left for the following chapter.

19. The many relations of the eight branches of the Indo-European family to each other are not easily illustrated. The Asiatic and European branches might be united into geographical groups, but this would leave out of account many important bonds of union. A general idea of certain important relationships may be seen from the following diagram : —
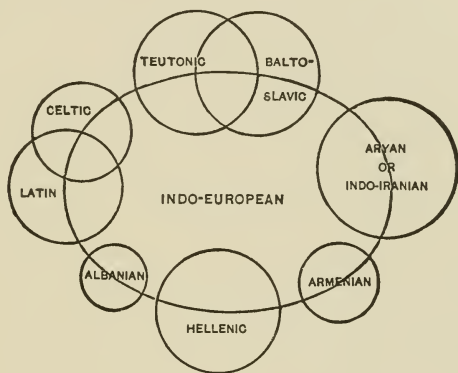
In this figure the large oval represents the common words and grammatical forms, while the overlapping of the smaller circles indicates similar characteristics binding together the minor groups. Such groupings, however, while ·based on certain resemblances, take no account of others also important. In fact, no diagram can show the network of common bonds, which cross and recross in many ways.

20. The common ancestry of the Indo-European languages implies a common home in the remote past. As to the place in which the parent race originally lived, opinions have radically differed. According to the older

view, the original home was in the table-lands of central Asia. In the early part of this century Latham, an English scholar, proposed Europe as the first home of Indo-Europeans, and this view has found increasing support among scholars. As to the part of Europe in which the first Indo-Europeans lived, scholars again differ. Some believe it to have been the region about the southern end of the Baltic Sea, while others suggest a region farther south in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea. The arguments for and against these various opinions depend upon a minute study of the culture of the parent race, as shown by the languages and literatures of its descendants. They are therefore quite too elaborate even for summarizing here.

CHAPTER II

THE TEUTONIC LANGUAGES

21. The Teutonic languages receive their name from the Latin name of the people, *Teutones*. This is the Latin form of a Teutonic word *thiuda* [1] ' people,' which is not preserved in modern English, but is the root of the High German adjective *Deutsch*. The latter form of the word accounts for the English borrowed name Dutch, which was formerly applied to German, but is now restricted to the language and people of Holland. The Teutonic branch of the Indo-European family is sometimes called Germanic, but this word is easily misunderstood, because of the use of the term German for a particular division of the group. Besides, the name German was never applied by the Teutons to themselves, in whole or in part, so that on this account also it seems less suitable for the race or the language.

22. There are three main divisions of the Teutonic languages : **Gothic** ; **Norse,** or **Scandinavian** ; and **West Teutonic,** a term which includes all the other members of the group. **Gothic,** the oldest member of the Teutonic branch, early separated into East and West Gothic. Just when this separation took place is not known, but the language which Ulfilas used in his translation of the Bible, § 18, is sup-

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[1] The word occurred in Old English as ðēod (ð = **th**).

posed to be West Gothic. An East Gothic speech remained in the Crimea until the sixteenth century, although only a few words of this last remnant of the Gothic language have been preserved, through the curiosity of travellers. Norse also separated into West and East divisions. The first includes Norwegian and Icelandic, the second Danish and Swedish. As far as literature is concerned, these four divisions were later reduced to three, since, owing to the union of Denmark and Norway in modern times, Danish became the literary language of both peoples. Gothic and Norse were formerly classed together as East Teutonic, but they are now considered independent members of the Teutonic branch.

23. **West Teutonic,** like Gothic and Norse, separated into two divisions, **High German** and **Low German. High German** is the language originally spoken by the Teutonic people who dwelt in the highlands of Germany. It is distinguished from Low German by a shifting of consonants which affected the language of the highlands and only slightly, if at all, the language of the lowlands. High German has, however, spread over middle and north Germany, while from it has also developed the literary language of the whole people. Many dialects still exist beside the literary language.

24. **Low German** is applied to all the other languages of the West Teutonic group. These were originally spoken in the extreme north of Germany, mainly in the countries bordering on the North Sea, until some of the Low German peoples migrated to Britain, and established there the language since known as English. Besides the latter, the other members of the Low German group were three, Saxon, Frisian, and Low Franconian. These were the languages

of the Saxons, the Frisians, and the Franks of the lower Rhine. The Frisians dwelt in the northern part of Holland and Germany, the Saxons to the east and southeast, the Frankish people on the banks of the lower Rhine, mainly in southern Holland and Belgium. The modern representative of the older Saxon is called North or Low German. The name Frisian is still retained, although the language is spoken only on some of the islands off the coast of north Germany. The modern languages springing from Low Franconian are Dutch, Flemish, and Low Franconian. Of all these modern Low German tongues, the only literary language at present is Dutch.

25. The Teutonic languages differ from Latin and Greek, which fairly represent the Indo-European parent speech, in many particulars. For example, the elaborate inflectional system, so characteristic of Indo-European, is far less perfectly preserved than in the classical languages. This change has been brought about through a tendency toward simplification of inflectional forms which, though affecting all Indo-European languages, has been especially strong in the Teutonic languages during all periods. In historic times this tendency has led to the almost total loss of inflections in some members of the Teutonic group, as in English. Besides this important feature, which will be referred to hereafter, some of the more striking characteristics, common to all the Teutonic languages, relate to, —

1. A Great Consonant Change, or Shifting of Consonants.
2. The Accent of Words.
3. A Twofold Declension of Adjectives.
4. The Verbal System.

The above characteristics are more evident in the older periods of the Teutonic languages, although some traces of them are still to be found in most members of the group.

THE GREAT CONSONANT SHIFT

26. One of the fundamental peculiarities of the Teutonic languages, as compared with Indo-European, relates to a shifting of certain consonants. While in all Indo-European languages there have been considerable consonantal changes, in none except Teutonic has there been such a systematic shifting of several series of consonants. This systematic shifting of several series of consonants is called the great consonant shift, or in its older and less complete form Grimm's Law. The results of the great consonant shift are complicated in themselves, and can be fully appreciated only from the older forms of the languages. For our purpose the best idea of them may be gained by comparison with Latin, as the most familiar representative of the parent speech.

27. Even a superficial comparison of Latin with English shows that there are in both many words which have similar meanings and some resemblances in form. Examples are : *brother — frater, foot — ped(em), thou — tu, two — duo, hill — coll(is), yoke — jug(um)*. The same is true of Greek, or Sanskrit, or Celtic words, when compared with those of any one of the Teutonic languages. A minute examination of many such examples has led to a statement of the results in the form of a law of consonant change. A complete statement of this law belongs to more elaborate

treatises, but some idea of its more important features may be concisely given.

28. Four series of Indo-European consonants have shifted in the Teutonic languages. These are : —

> 1. The Labials **p, ph, b, bh.**
> 2. The Dentals **t, th, d, dh.**
> 3. The Palatals **k′, kh′, g′, gh′.**
> 4. The Gutturals **k, kh, g, gh**

In Teutonic, however, **ph, th, kh′, kh,** have had the same development as **p, t, k′, k.** The palatal and guttural series have also had a similar development in the main, so that for our purpose the sixteen consonants above are reduced to nine. The principal results of the great consonant shift may therefore be briefly summarized as follows : —

Indo-European **p, b, bh** became Teutonic **f, p, b** respectively.
    "   **t, d, dh**   "   "   **th, t, d**   "
    "   **k, g, gh**   "   "   **h, k, g**   "

If the columns are read downwards, the law becomes, —

Indo-European **p, t, k** became Teutonic **f, th, h** respectively.
    "   **b, d, g**   "   "   **p, t, k**   "
    "   **bh, dh, gh** "   "   **b, d, g**   "

29. The greatest difficulty in understanding the results of the consonant shift is owing to the fact, that no language perfectly preserves the Indo-European consonant system. Besides, a modern language such as English may not perfectly preserve the Teutonic system. In comparing any two

languages, therefore, a certain modified statement of the law is necessary. This may be seen by comparing the consonants in Latin on the one side with the shifted consonants in English on the other. The law with regard to Latin and English consonants may be stated thus : —

Latin **p, b, f [b]** equal English **f, p, b (v)** respectively.
  "   **t, d, f [d, b]** "   "   **th, t, d**   "
  "   **c, g, h [g]** "   "   **h, c (ch), g (y)** "

In this scheme the bracketed letters of Latin represent medial sounds only, and the English letters in parentheses represent modern variants of the original sounds. The sign **c** in Latin and English represents the **k** sound. The changes will be clearer from comparison of Latin and English words.

30. Examples of words illustrating the Latin and English consonant equivalents in the first series are as follows : [1] —

1. Latin **p** = English **f** : pater — father ; pecu — fee ; ped(em) — foot ; pell(is) — fell ' skin ' ; plu(ere) — flow ; pat(ere) — fath(om) ; cap(io) — haf(t).

2. Latin **b** = English **p** : lubri(cus) — (s)lippery ; labi — (s)leep ; turba — thorp (in compounds, as *Apthorp*).

3. Latin **f [b]** = English **b (v)** : frango, fregi — break ; flos — blow ' blossom ' ; find(ere), fidi — bite ; fiber — beaver.

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[1] The examples represent cognate forms. The meanings of the cognate words may be quite different, owing to changes which have taken place in the individual languages. In most cases the change of meaning can be easily traced. Many other examples may be selected for comparison in assisting to fix the law in memory.

31. For the second series the following are examples : —

1. Latin **t** = English **th** : tu — thou ; tres — three.

2. Latin **d** = English **t** : dom(are) — tame ; dom(us) — tim(ber) ; duo — two ; ped(em) — foot ; ed(ere) — eat ; cord(is) — heart.

3. Latin **f[d, b]** = English **d** : fac(ere) — do ; fing(ere) — dough; for(is) — door ; vidua — widow ; fend(ere) — bind ; rub(er) — red ; uber — udder.

32. Some examples of the third series are : —

1. Latin **c** = English **h** : cent(um) — hund(red) ; coll(is) — hill; can(is) — houn(d) ; cap(io) — haf(t).

2. Latin **g** = English **c(ch)** : genu — knee ; (co)gnosco — know ; gen(ui) — kin ; gus(tus) — choose.

3. Latin **h[g]** = English **g(ɣ)** : homo — g(r)oom (in *bridegroom*) ; host(is) — guest ; veh(ere) — way.

33. While the law of the great consonant shift affects the majority of the consonants included under it, there are certain apparent exceptions. For instance, **st** remains unchanged in Latin statio — English stead, and in Latin hostis — English guest. In these, and other similar cases, the **t,** which would otherwise change, seems to be protected by the preceding **s.** The apparent exception, as in most other cases, is due to the influence of a minor law. These minor laws, which should accompany a complete statement of the great consonant shift, cannot here be explained because of their technicality. Enough has already been said, however, to show that the consonant system of Teutonic has a somewhat different character from that of any other Indo-European language.

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ACCENT AND INFLECTION

34. A second characteristic of Teutonic, as compared with Indo-European and most of its descendants, is its accent of words. In Indo-European the accent was free ; that is, it might change from one part of the word to another, as from root to prefix or suffix. In Teutonic, on the other hand, this original free accent became a fixed stress after the earliest period. That is, the Teutonic accent always rested upon a particular syllable of the word, and did not change in inflection as in Greek, and, to a less extent, in Latin. It is true that Celtic had a similar accent ; yet, compared with Indo-European and the classical languages especially, the Teutonic accent is a characteristic feature. The law of the Teutonic accent will be given and illustrated, under accent of English words, in a later chapter.

35. Another peculiarity of the Teutonic languages in all their earlier forms, is a double declension of adjectives ; that is, the Teutonic adjective was declined with one of two sets of endings, according to its use in different syntactical relations of the sentence. One of these two forms corresponds in general to the adjective inflection in the cognate languages. The other was developed in early Teutonic, and therefore well deserves to be called a characteristic feature. The English adjective has lost all traces of inflection in the later development of the language, but the double declension is still found in modern German and in the Scandinavian languages.

36. Teutonic also differs from the other members of the Indo-European family by reason of peculiarities in its verbal

system. The most important of these is the dental preterit or past tense. This dental preterit, that is the preterit ending in English in d(t) or ed, began to be used in early Teutonic, and soon became the most common form. Equally characteristic, though less important as far as frequency is concerned, is the use of different vowels to distinguish verbal stems, as in sing — sang — sung. Such vowel variation is not unknown to other languages of the Indo-European family, but in no other language was it made a distinguishing feature of verbal stems. These peculiarities of the verbal system, though much modified, are still found in all members of the Teutonic group.

37. Besides the inflectional peculiarities already mentioned, the Teutonic verb had another characteristic feature. Indo-European had an elaborate tense and mode system, as shown by the classical languages. The Teutonic verbal system, on the contrary, was extremely simple. Teutonic had but two tenses, a present and a preterit, the first of which was used for present and future, the second for all past time. The six tenses of the present English verb are compound, not inflectional, and are of later formation. Moreover, Teutonic early lost almost wholly its inflected passive voice, although its place was later supplied by a compound passive. In several respects, therefore, the Teutonic verbal system differed from that of the other Indo-European languages.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE TEUTONIC LANGUAGES

38. A full discussion of Teutonic should include a statement of the differences between Gothic and Norse on the one side, and West Teutonic on the other. But these

differences are in the details of sounds and inflections, and belong especially to the older periods of linguistic development. The special statement of the law of the second consonant shift, which separated High German from Low German, belongs rather to a History of German than of English. In addition to the shifting of consonants, High German is characterized by great conservatism in respect to its grammar. On the contrary, Low German shows a marked tendency to uniformity or levelling of inflectional forms.
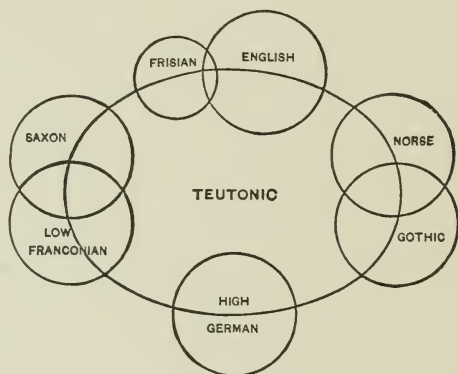
39. Within the Low German group, English and Frisian were so similar in their oldest periods that they may properly be classed under the general title of the Anglo-Frisian group. Saxon was most closely related to Low Franconian, although in some respects it was not unlike both English and High German. The general relationships of the older divisions of the Teutonic languages are shown in the above diagram similar to that used for the Indo-European family,

§ 19. It must be remembered, however, that such a diagram cannot represent all important relations, and must be regarded merely as a guide to some of the more significant bonds of union.

40. From the standpoint of language and literature, as well as from that of extended usage, English yields in importance to none of the Teutonic languages. It preserves a greater body of literature in its oldest period than any of the others. It also shows in its manuscripts an older stage of the language than any of the others except Gothic. English is therefore of preëminent importance to the student of early Teutonic literature and philology. Moreover, English is at present the most widely used of all the Indo-European languages. For all these reasons the history of English is important, not only to English-speaking peoples, but also to those of the whole civilized world.

41. So much has been said of the Teutonic languages, because they are most closely allied to English at present, as they have been in the past. That is, notwithstanding the external influences which have affected our language, English is still, as it always has been, a Teutonic speech. It has retained through all these influences a groundwork of Teutonic words, inflectional forms, and syntax, which have continued to give the language its distinctive character. Its closest connections, therefore, are with the Teutonic, and not with the Romance or classical, languages. The meaning of this, and the extent to which it is true, will be seen from the following chapters.

42. It is usual, in treating most of the Teutonic languages, to recognize three periods of historical development. These

are called the old, middle, and new or modern periods. The history of English, therefore, will be an account of its development in each of these three chronological divisions. The first, or Old English, period extends from the settlement of England in the fifth century to 1100. The Middle English period covers the four centuries from 1100 to 1500, and the Modern English period extends from 1500 to the present time. The language of these three periods is called **Old, Middle,** and **Modern English.** Old English is also called Anglo-Saxon, § 48.

II

THE STANDARD LANGUAGE[1] AND THE DIALECTS

CHAPTER III

THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD

43. Little is known of early Britain or of its settlement by our Teutonic ancestors. Most that is known rests upon the *Ecclesiastical History of England*, a Latin work written by the Venerable Bede. Bede says that the Teutons were invited by the British king Wyrtgeorn to assist him against his enemies, the Picts and Scots from the north and west. After repulsing their enemies, the Teutons turned against the Britons themselves and subdued them. Whether this is exactly true or not, it is clear that, about the middle of the fifth century of our era, the Teutons gained a foothold upon the island of Britain and soon became masters in their new home.

[1] By a standard language is usually meant that form which occurs in the generally accepted literature of a nation or people. There may also be a spoken standard, which means the language of cultivated speakers in some centre of national influence. Each of these is important to the history of any language.

44. Before this time the island of Britain had been the home of the kinsmen of the Gauls and the Irish. These Cæsar found when he set foot in Britain about the middle of the first century B.C. In the last half of the first century A.D. the Romans completed their conquest of the island as far north as the Forth. For more than three centuries from this time Britain was occupied by the Romans. At the beginning of the fifth century, however, the Roman soldiers were withdrawn, and for a short time Britain was again an independent Celtic state. This independence was of short duration. The Teutons, who had been kept from settlement only by the vigilance of the Roman soldiery, soon conquered the island and made it their home.

45. The Teutonic invaders were of three tribes, — the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles. The Jutes settled in Kent, the isle of Wight, and the mainland adjoining. The Saxons occupied the rest of England south of the Thames, together with the land bordering on the north bank of the lower Thames. The Angles took possession of the rest of England to the north and east. The dates of the establishment of the various kingdoms are given in the *Saxon Chronicle*, but it is doubtful whether they can be relied upon in every particular. They are probably so far correct as to show that the Kentish kingdom was first established, the Saxon next, and finally that of the Angles, these events extending through about a century from the earliest settlement.

46. Our Teutonic ancestors, when they came to Britain, had been practically unaffected by Roman or Christian civilization. After they reached the island, however, the Teutonic peoples received Christianity, and this had an indirect

influence upon the language itself. Christianity first came to the kingdom of Kent, owing to the marriage of King Æthelberht (d. 616) with a Christian princess of France. The conversion of Æthelberht brought Christianity to all southern Britain, as the Kentish king was overlord of the region south of the Humber. A little later, Eadwine (d. 633), king of Northumbria and overlord of Britain, married the daughter of the Kentish king, and also became a Christian. The establishment of Christianity formed a bond of union for all the peoples of Britain. As one result, a Christian literature sprang up, and not a few words from Latin, the language of the Christian church, were added to the language of England.

EARLY NAMES

47. In the earliest times, the Teutonic peoples of Britain were distinguished by different names according as they came from different regions of northern Europe. Later, the terms *Engle* 'Angles' and *Englisc* 'English' were generally adopted for all the Teutonic peoples. For example, the Kentish king Æthelberht called himself and his people *Engle*, and Pope Gregory used the same name for the whole people. Another name of similar origin, *Angelcyn* 'Angle-kin,' was also used for the Saxons as well as Angles, and applied to the country as well as to the people. Still later, *England* (*Englaland*) 'land of the Angles' was generally employed. On the other hand, the Celts, during this early period, called all the Teutonic peoples by the general name *Saxons*, while the latter gave to the Celts the name *Welsh*, that is, 'strangers.'

48. The use of the name English for the language of our early forefathers, as distinct from the people, rests upon even better grounds. Its earliest and more restricted use is due to the fact that a vernacular literature first originated in Northumbria, an Anglian state. Soon, however, the name came to designate the language of the whole nation. For example, the *Saxon Chronicle* speaks of the five languages of Britain as " English, British, Scotch, Pictish, and Latin," in which English clearly refers to the language of all the Teutonic peoples. In the later period of West Saxon literary supremacy, the name English instead of Saxon was regularly employed. The name Anglo-Saxon for language and people was never generally used by the English themselves, and its present employment is due mainly to those who, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, revived the study of the older language. As the name English was originally so common, and as it better suggests a continuity of linguistic development which no one questions, it will be used in this book for the language of all periods.

THE OLD ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS

49. Old English retained all the characteristics of Teutonic already described. On the other hand, it was distinct from the other Teutonic dialects in certain peculiarities of sounds, which gave its words somewhat different forms, as well as in its inflections and syntax. Few of these distinctive features are easily illustrated without reciting details of Old English grammar. However, some general characteristics may be given. The Old English vocabulary was at

first almost exclusively Teutonic ; that is, unaffected by con-
siderable foreign influences. Later, as will be seen, some
words were borrowed from Celtic, and more from Latin and
from Norse, or Scandinavian. The inflectional system of
Old English was complicated, though less so than that of
Latin or Greek. Old English syntax was much nearer that
of Modern German than that of Modern English.

50. Not only were the Teutonic settlers in Britain of
different tribes, but their language represented different dia-
lects of the common Low German division. These dialects
were scarcely so diverse that the different tribes could not
understand each other, but there was still no common spoken
or written language. After the tribes had become estab-
lished in Britain, there were four fairly marked speech divi-
sions. These were Kentish in the southeastern corner of
Britain ; West Saxon south and west of the Thames ; Mer-
cian between the Thames and the Humber ; and Northum-
brian between the Humber and the Firth of Forth. Of
these, Kentish and West Saxon form the Southern group,
while Mercian and Northumbrian make up the Northern or
Anglian group, each representing a division of the Anglian
people. The position and extent of these dialect divisions
may be seen from the map on the following page.

51. It is difficult to characterize these dialects in any but
a general way, without going into the minutiæ of grammar.
As to the sounds of the language, Southern English, that is
West Saxon and Kentish, shows a tendency to palatalization
of both vowels and consonants. In this respect, Mercian
also usually agrees with Southern English. The best single
example of this palatalization is the case of the Old English

ENGLISH DIALECTS IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

consonant **c**, which has become the sound **ch** in Modern English, representing the older Mercian, while in Scotch, representing old Northumbrian, it has retained the sound of **k**. Compare such words as **church**, **chaff**, **churl**, **chalk**, with Scotch **kirk**, **caff**, **carl**, **cauk**. Note also Winchester, and Rochester in the south, as compared with Doncaster and Tadcaster in the north of England, all of which contain the Latin word *castra* 'camp,' which suffered palatalization along with native words. The palatalization which caused this change must have begun in the Old English period.

52. On the other hand, West Saxon and Kentish are more conservative in respect to inflectional forms than either Northumbrian or Mercian. Thus, final *n* in inflectional endings is regularly lost in Northumbrian and often in Mercian, but seldom in West Saxon. The infinitive of the verb 'sing' is *singa* in Northumbrian, but *singan* in West Saxon. The indicative third singular of verbs ends in *eð*, *að* (ð = th) in West Saxon, but in *es* (*as*), from which the Modern English *s* ending is derived, in Northumbrian. In Northumbrian also, feminine, as well as masculine and neuter, nouns take a genitive singular in *es*, instead of *e*, and thus approach more nearly the Modern English form. Some peculiarities of syntax may also be noted. For example, the Modern English preposition *in* is common only in Northumbrian and Mercian, while *on* (*an*) is the usual West Saxon form. In all these particulars, Northumbrian is nearer to Modern English than is West Saxon. In most of them also, Mercian, from which Modern English was eventually to develop, shows a likeness to Northumbrian.

The Literary Language

53. Of each of the dialects some literary monuments remain, but their value from the standpoint of language and literature varies greatly. Two of the dialects, Northumbrian and West Saxon, gained prominence by becoming the medium of an important literature, while the others never attained the position of literary language for any considerable part of the people of England. The Northumbrian and West Saxon literatures therefore merit special attention.

54. The first dialect in which an important national literature appeared was Northumbrian, the northern division of the Anglian group. In Northumbrian a rich body of English poetry was produced in the last of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century. To Northumbria belongs the composition of the great epic of Old English times, *Beowulf*, a poem which is still full of the fire of the heathen war spirit, although since its composition it has been retouched by a Christian writer. In this region Cædmon, called the father of English poetry, composed a paraphrase of part of the Bible. To the same region probably belongs the excellent poetry of Cynewulf, the author of *Christ, Elene, Juliana*, and other poems. Besides these great epic poems there was a smaller number of lyric character. Native prose was also written. For instance, the Venerable Bede, far more widely known for his Latin writings, translated part of the Bible into English. It should be mentioned, however, that most of the literature of the north is not preserved to us in a Northumbrian

dialect, and would not be known except that it was copied in a later time by West Saxon scribes.

55. The literary supremacy of Northumbria is doubtless connected with that prowess of the Northumbrians which gained for them the overlordship of Britain in the seventh century. This preëminence in literature Northumbria retained through the eighth century, although her political importance was on the wane. For example, in Northumbria during the last half of the eighth century, Alcuin acquired that learning which led to his becoming the teacher and friend of Charlemagne. But the importance of Northumbria finally diminished at the rise of a greater kingdom in the south.

56. Although Mercia was powerful during the last half of the eighth century, no Mercian king was overlord of all England. Probably on this account Mercian did not become, in Old English times, a literary language for the whole English people. At any rate, the next dialect to obtain literary supremacy was that of the important kingdom of Wessex, the rise of which began with Ecgberht, who reigned from 802 to 839. The kingdom of Wessex was strengthened and enlarged by the great Alfred, and under his sons the West Saxon king became overlord of all Britain. Alfred also stimulated a great literary revival. He himself translated such works as the *Cura Pastoralis*, or *Pastoral Care*, of Pope Gregory, the *Chronicle* of Orosius, and the *Consolations of Philosophy* by Boethius. Other prose works belong to the same time, as the *Chronicle of Winchester*, and a translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, which was formerly attributed to Alfred. The literary revival under

Alfred was thus principally productive of prose, although the older poetry of Northumbria, as already mentioned, was transcribed by West Saxon writers.

57. After Alfred's death literature suffered a decline in Wessex, although West Saxon remained the literary, or standard, language of England. A second literary revival occurred in the last of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. The literature of the period consists mainly of religious writings, as Æthelwold's translation of the *Rule of St. Benedict*, the *Blickling Homilies*, the *Homilies* of Ælfric and Wulfstan, and Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*. Ælfric also produced a *Latin Grammar*, an English and Latin *Colloquium*, and a translation of the Pentateuch and other parts of the Old Testament. Prose fiction is represented by translations of *Apollonius of Tyre* and the *Wonders of the Orient*. Besides this prose, there is some poetry belonging to the period, as the *Solomon and Saturn*, and accounts of the battles of Brunanburh and Maldon.

58. The literary ascendency of the West Saxon dialect ended with the fall of the kingdom of Wessex. The West Saxon overthrow resulted from the conquest of England by the Northmen, who are called Danes in English history, although they came from the Scandinavian peninsula as well as from Denmark. The first Danish attack on Northumberland occurred as early as 787. About a century later the first actual settlements were made, East Anglia having been occupied in 870. Then came the great struggle with Wessex, in which the Danes were repulsed and held in check by the prowess of Alfred and his sons. In 980, however, a new Danish invasion began, and in 1016 the conquest or

England was completed, a Danish king being seated on the English throne. It is not strange that, under these circumstances, English literature should have almost ceased to exist, although English continued to be the language of the people.

59. In 1042 the English kingdom was temporarily restored under Edward the Confessor, but the restoration had little effect upon literature or the extension of the use of English. This was largely owing to the weakness of the English king and the fact that Edward's sympathies were with Normandy, the land in which he had lived from boyhood. Edward also surrounded himself with French nobles whom he placed in positions of trust, and French priests to whom he gave principal places in the church. Moreover, the king and his favourites spoke French, so that English was no longer the language of the court. So considerable were Edward's acts of favouritism that they were resented by the English people, and a revolution in 1052 resulted in the expulsion and outlawry of the Norman prelates.

60. The English restoration under Edward was soon followed by another conquest of far-reaching importance, that by which William of Normandy, in 1066, became William I of England. Such an event could not but have its effect on the use of English as an official and literary language. With the government in the hands of conquerors, there was naturally little stimulus to the production of a national literature. Besides, while English continued to be written, West Saxon was no longer recognized as preeminent among the dialects. Each writer used the dialect

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most familiar to him, according as he lived in the south, the midland, or the north.

61. It must not be forgotten, in speaking of the decline of English literature, that English has remained the spoken language of England through all the vicissitudes of her history. The Normans did not force their language upon the people, as the Danes at their conquest did not attempt to force the use of Danish. In fact, it is probable that comparatively few Englishmen learned Norman French. Certainly, among the mass of the people the mother tongue remained, at the close of the Old English period, almost as pure as if Frenchmen had not fought at Hastings, or a Norman been crowned at Westminster. The real influence of French upon English belongs almost wholly to the Middle English period and will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD

62. When the Old English period closed, English was again in the condition of separate dialects none of which could claim ascendency over the others. In other words, at this time no literary language represented the nation as a whole, and no literature expressed the thought and feeling of the whole people. It is true that works were written in Latin, the common language of scholars throughout Europe, during the latter part of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. These were theological works, as those of Lanfranc and Anselm; mathematical treatises, as those of Gerland, Æthelard of Bath, and Philip de Thaun; chronicles, as those of Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and many others. Besides this Latin literature, there were also many works in Norman French, the language of the conquerors, such as the poetical histories of Gaimar and Wace, and the romances of Walter Map. Almost the only English works written during the twelfth century were certain *Chronicles*, one of which, kept at Peterborough, comes down to the year 1154. From the beginning of the twelfth century, however, an increasing literature was written in the different

Middle English dialects, and finally English again came to be the literary language of the whole English people. The history of the Middle English period, therefore, is the history of certain dialects, and of the rise of a new literary language for England.

MIDDLE ENGLISH AND ITS DIALECTS

63. In describing Old English, § 49, some general characteristics of its most flourishing period were given. Typical Middle English, or that of the two centuries from 1200 to 1400, shows some decided changes. In the first place, the vocabulary was no longer almost exclusively English in origin. Many words had already been borrowed from French and Norse, while the Latin element in the language had also gradually increased. Besides, the inflectional system had been largely levelled, so that in its simplicity English far more nearly approached the language of modern times. With the losses to the inflectional system there had also come a more analytical syntax. That is, word order was much less free, and the relation of words to one another was marked by the larger use of prepositions and auxiliary verbs.

64. The dialects of Middle English are in the main natural developments from those existing in Old English times. They also occupy practically the same territory (see p. 28). They are, however, called by somewhat different names, as Northern instead of Northumbrian, Midland instead of Mercian, and Southern instead of the older West Saxon. Kentish retains its name, although owing to its less impor-

tant development, it is often included in Southern English.
Besides change in name, only one important difference
between the dialects of Old and Middle English need be
noted. The Midland dialect, which assumes new impor-
tance in the Middle English period, separated into several
minor dialectal divisions, of which the most important are
East Midland and West Midland. Before the close of the
Middle English period, the Northern dialect also began to
separate into two divisions, Lowland Scotch and Northern
English proper, the former of which became the literary
language of Scotland.

65. The dialects of Middle English may be briefly char-
acterized by some of their more striking features. As to
sounds, Old English ā became ō (as in *lord*) in Southern
and Midland, but remained ā in Northern. This distinction
accounts for the later difference between such words as
English home and Scotch hame. Southern English, on the
other hand, differed from Northern as well as Midland in
changing f to v and s to z initially. Thus in Southern, for
example, fox and so became vox and zo. As to vocabulary,
the Northern dialect contained a larger number of Norse
words, while Southern and Midland had borrowed a larger
number of words from French. Certain differences in in-
flection also distinguish the separate dialects. In nouns the
plural form was more regularly made in Northern and Mid-
land by adding es, while in Southern many en plurals were
found. In verbs, eth was the Southern ending of the in-
dicative third singular and the plural ; but en was the ending
of the plural in Midland forms, while es was found in both
singular and plural of the Northern dialect.

The Fusion of French and English

66. Attention has already been called to the fact that English remained, after the conquest as before, the language of the great majority of the people of England. While at first French was spoken by the conquerors, and by the Normans who followed them after the establishment of the new kingdom, there is no evidence that it was adopted to any extent by the English people. On the other hand, it is clear from many recorded statements that the Normans themselves soon began to learn and use the language of their adopted country, as their Norse ancestors had learned French soon after settling in Normandy. Just how early this took place is uncertain, but of the fact itself there can be no reasonable doubt.

67. Indeed, the fusion of the two races probably took place much earlier than is usually supposed. This may be shown in many ways. In the first place, it was the policy of William the Conqueror to disturb existing laws and customs as little as possible. After the battle of Hastings, he presented himself for election to the kingship before the English national assembly (Witenagemote), and took the coronation oath of former English kings. He also retained popular legal institutions, and confirmed the laws of his predecessor Edward. Moreover, William's sons, Rufus and Henry I, were able to hold their possessions against the Norman Robert and his adherents, only through the support of their loyal English subjects. Finally there is the evidence of contemporary writers as to the complete union of conquerors and conquered. Walter Map, who

died in 1210, tells us explicitly that the reign of Henry I put an end to the distinction between Norman and Englishman. Another writer of the time of Henry II (1154–1189) confirms this by saying, "Already the English and Normans, by dwelling together and intermarrying, are so mixed that, among freemen at least, it can scarcely be determined to-day who is of English and who of Norman birth."

68. The fusion of the two races was rapid and easy on several accounts. First, the actual number of the Normans coming in at the conquest has been greatly exaggerated in popular estimation. Besides, many Normans came long after the conquest, when England and Normandy were united as parts of one great empire and all hostility between the races was a thing of the past. Moreover, direct Norman influence, if it continued so long, ceased at the loss of Normandy in 1204. Indeed that event could hardly have happened at all, if for some time before it the interests of Normans had not been transferred almost wholly to England. Finally, in 1244, Louis IX of France commanded the English nobles to relinquish their possessions in England, or give up their claim to those in France. In retaliation for this, the English king, Henry III, ordered all Frenchmen who held possessions in England to be deprived of their property. This last act could hardly have been ordered, if many in England were still regarded as belonging to the Norman race. If all these facts are taken together, the conclusion seems inevitable that the fusion of the two races began as early as the first of the twelfth century, and a century after the conquest was complete.

THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE

69. The best evidence of the fusion of the races depends on what is known of the adoption by the Normans of the language of the conquered people. As to this there are many incidental allusions. It is asserted on excellent authority that William I himself, far from trying to supplant English, attempted at the age of forty-three to acquire the English tongue. There is at least little doubt that he understood English. William's son, Henry I, was probably taught English in childhood. Henry II (1154–1189) understood, if he did not speak, the tongue of Englishmen, and in his time also nobles of Norman birth "could freely speak, or understand, English." In the reign of Richard I (1189–1199), a bishop of Norman birth blamed another Norman bishop because he could not speak the language of the people. In the century following, the Bishop of York refused benefices, even to those recommended by the Pope, on the ground that they could not speak English, while in the political troubles of 1263 those nobles who did not understand the native tongue were held in no esteem by the common people.

70. More significant still of the favour in which English was held, is the attempt of Edward I (1272–1307) to incite enmity against the French by proclaiming that the king of France "planned, if his ability should correspond with his iniquitous purpose (which God prevent), to destroy the English language wholly from the earth." The third Edward (1327–1377) opened Parliament in 1362 by declaring in English the causes of the summons. This is significant

proof that in the formalities of parliamentary proceedings English was displacing French. In the same year the same Edward granted, on petition of the Commons, that pleadings in the courts of law should again be in English. The statute is most explicit. After reciting " the great mischiefs which have happened to divers of the realm, because the laws, customs, and statutes of this realm be not commonly known in the same realm, for that they be pleaded, showed, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the said realm," it ordains " that all pleas which shall be pleaded in his [the king's] courts whatsoever, before any of his justices whatsoever, or in his other places or before any of his ministers whatsoever, or in the courts or places of any other lords whatsoever within the realm, shall be pleaded, showed, defended, debated, and judged in the English tongue."

71. During the fourteenth century, English also regained its place as the language of the schools. This of course means that French, which had hitherto been thought proper for the sons of the upper classes, was now felt to be distinctly out of place. Higden's *Polychronicon*, written about 1352, is the authority for our knowledge of the use of French in the schools. Higden tells us,

"This impairing of the birth tongue is because of two things; one is, for children in school, against the usage and manner of all other nations, be compelled for to leave their own language and for to construe their lessons and their things in French, and so they have since the Normans came first into England. Also gentlemen's children be taught to speak French, from the time that they be rocked in their cradle and can speak and can play with a child's brooch."

On this passage the English translator, John Trevisa, adds
a note telling us that the schools, in spite of their conserva-
tism, had given up their use of French.   His own words
are as follows :

"This manner was much used before the first death (1349), and is
since somedeal changed; for John Cornwall, a master of grammar,
changed the lore in grammar schools and construction of French into
English; and Richard Pencrich learned this manner of teaching of him,
and other men of Pencrich; so that now, the year of our Lord a thou-
sand three hundred four score and five, and of the second king Richard
after the conquest nine, in all the grammar schools of England children
leaveth French and construeth and learneth in English."

72. To sum up the history of the spoken language in the
Middle English period, it may be said that French, the lan-
guage of the conqueror, was used for a time by the upper
classes, especially by Normans and those of Norman de-
scent.   Only for a comparatively short time was French
used to the exclusion of English even by the upper classes.
The Normans themselves soon learned English, although
continuing to learn and use French, as scholars all over
Europe continued to learn and use Latin.   Gradually Eng-
lish displaced French, not only as the language of daily
intercourse among the descendants of the Normans them-
selves, but also as the official language of England.   Finally,
in the fourteenth century, the conservatism of the law and
the conservatism of the schools gave way to the language
of the people, and the ascendency of English was complete.

The Written Language

73. It has been shown in the preceding sections how
English, the language of the Teutonic settlers in England,

again became the spoken language of all classes, as well as the language of Parliament, of the schools, and of the courts of law. During the same period English was also regaining its place as a written language, while one form of it was becoming established as the standard literary language for all England. The gradual steps by which this latter fact came about are of the first importance in the history of English.

74. It has already been said that William the Conqueror did not attempt to supplant the English speech. Equally true is it that he did not depose English from its place as the language of official documents. Before the Conqueror's time, writs and other acts issued by the government had been in English or Latin. William I continued the same practice, never using French in official documents, so far as shown by those preserved. After William's reign, the use of English in official records grows rarer until the reign of Richard I (1189–1199), the first king after the conquest of whose reign no English document is preserved. Charters, however, were written in Latin and English during the two centuries following 1100. Moreover, when English was displaced for a time in public documents, it gave way, not to the language of the Norman, but to Latin, the language of learning throughout Europe.

75. That the Normans did not make French an official language for England is clear, from the time at which it began to be used in official documents. Strange as it may seem, the first official use of French was in the year 1215, a century and a half after the conquest, and a decade after England had lost Normandy. Besides, less than fifty years

later, or in 1258, Henry III issued his famous proclamation to the whole nation in English, as well as in Latin and French, the languages common in public records. This proclamation related to the Provisions of Oxford, which, like Magna Charta, were a bill of rights wrested from the king. The "Provisions" had been demanded by a great popular uprising, and it was peculiarly fitting, therefore, that they should be published in the language of the people.

76. It is true that French was largely used in public documents after this time, but this fact must not be over-estimated. As an official language, French was not intended for the majority of the people, but for a comparatively small official class. Besides, in the thirteenth century, French was the language of half the courts of Europe, and it would not be strange if, on this account alone, it should have been used in England. Certainly this later and more extended use of French clearly indicates that the foreign tongue was no longer regarded with hatred as a badge of the conqueror.

77. English fully regained its place as an official language in the last part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. This is shown by English documents still preserved in the British Museum and Public Record Office of London. Of these, the oldest private records belong to the year 1375, the oldest London documents to the year 1384. The earliest English petition to Parliament also bears the latter date. The earliest English will is of the year 1387, and the earliest statutes of the Guilds written in English are of 1389. From the time of Henry VI (1422) private records are commonly in English. Petitions and bills in Parliament are regularly in English from the years

1444 and 1445. Only in the statutes did French continue to be used until 1488, after which they also are always in the native tongue.

78. The language of correspondence throws some light on the use of English, and on the relative positions of Latin and French. Latin was commonly used in correspondence during the earliest Middle English period. Later, but not before the last of the thirteenth century, French began to be used in letters. Just how early English was used is not certain, but a private letter of 1399, written in the latter language, is still preserved. At least from this time, English was doubtless the usual language of correspondence. This would seem to be clear also from the *Paston Letters*, a remarkable series extending from 1424 to 1508, and from the fact that, during the fifteenth century, the letters of kings, as of the nobility of England, are in English.

79. As has been said, § 62, both Latin and French were used in literature during the twelfth century. English continued to be written, but the decadence of the language was more marked at this time than during almost any century of English history before or since. This was natural enough, owing to the supremacy of the Normans, and the inevitable repression of the English national life. It is not strange therefore that English was dialectal, that each writer used the dialect most familiar to himself and those of his own district, and that there was no attempt to reach the whole people in a language common to all. Yet even this dialectal literature is important to the history of English.

80. It is not strange that the Southern dialect, the direct descendant of West Saxon, the standard language of Old

English times, should continue to be used in literature. Some of the principal works in this dialect are the *Lives* of St. Katherine and St. Juliana, the *Ancren Riwle*, or ‘Rule of Nuns,’ and, in the fourteenth century, Robert of Gloucester’s *Chronicle* and Trevisa’s translation of Higden’s *Polychronicon*. Less important, because not representing the Southern dialect so accurately, are such poems as the *Moral Ode*, the *Owl and Nightingale*, and the prose treatise called *Wooing of our Lord*. Kentish has few important representatives, but the *Kentish Sermons* and Michael of Northgate’s *Ayenbite of Inwit*, or ‘Prick of Conscience,’ may be especially mentioned. As their titles suggest, almost all of these works are religious in character, and in this respect, among others, show the limited scope of early Middle English literature.

81. To the Northern dialect belong the *Metrical Psalter*, and the *Cursor Mundi*, a verse history of the world. There are also the works of Richard Hampole, the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Book of an Anchoress*, as well as a series of *Metrical Homilies*. The most noteworthy works in later Northern are the *Songs* of Lawrence Minot, and the York and Towneley *Mysteries*, specimens of the early drama. In the fourteenth century also a national literature began to be written in Scotland, but this may be best considered in connection with the later literature of that country.

82. Far more important to a history of the English language is the literature of the Midland dialect. This dialect includes, as has been said, two divisions. Early East Midland is represented by the *Peterborough Chronicle* and the *Ormulum*, or book of a monk named Orm. The *Ormulum* is a poem of 10,000 long lines, consisting of paraphrases

of passages from the New Testament and homilies upon them. It is important mainly because of the unique orthography of the writer, which throws much light upon the language of the time and on Middle English generally. Besides these, there are the *Bestiary*, a fanciful poem on animals and their assumed characteristics, and a poetical paraphrase of *Genesis and Exodus*. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Robert of Brunne wrote his *Chronicle* and *Handlynge Synne*, or 'Manual of Sins.' West Midland of the early period is represented by Layamon's *Brut*, a long verse history of England, by the story of *King Horn*, and by other poems of a popular cast.

83. The real blossoming of literature in the Midland dialect was during the fourteenth century, when English was becoming the language of the court, of the schools, and of legal proceedings. First a great number of metrical romances appeared in English of the East Midland district. Some of the most important are the tales of *Havelok the Dane*, *Amis and Amiloun*, *King of Tars*, and *Guy of Warwick*. Next came a great revival of popular alliterative poetry in the west and northwest. The most important works of this revival are the *Piers Plowman* of Langland, and the *Pearl*, *Sir Gawain*, and other works of an unknown poet. At the same time the great court poet Chaucer, a native of London, used English throughout his writings. In friendly rivalry or direct imitation of his great contemporary, Gower gave up the use of French and Latin for the mother tongue. Both of the latter writers are representatives of the East Midland dialect, although their language shows a colouring of Southern English. Finally, Midland

prose is represented by Mandeville's *Travels*, and by the writings of the reformer Wyclif, who, late in life, forsook Latin for the mother tongue in making his appeal to the people against the clergy. Before the end of the century also the Bible had been translated into English, first by Hereford and Wyclif and next by Purvey.

84. During the fourteenth century the principal literature of England was written in the Midland dialect, clearly suggesting that Midland was soon to become the standard language of the kingdom. Moreover, although the West Midland dialect was largely used in the early part of the century, in the last quarter of the fourteenth and the whole of the fifteenth century most of the literature of England was written in the language of the East Midland district. Still more exactly, the variety of East Midland which was most common was that spoken in London, the chief city of the East Midland district, as of the realm. The same variety of English had also become the official language of England, as shown by its constant use in official documents. This was not only natural, but inevitable, since London itself had come to be the seat of national life and the centre of national influence.

85. The changes in literary English during the fifteenth century were few, at least as compared with the changes which had preceded that time. Such as did occur were changes due to the general tendency toward greater uniformity which had already affected the language. It has been noted that the language of Chaucer and Gower was coloured by some peculiarities of Southern English, peculiarities which belonged to the London speech of their time.

The language of Wyclif, on the other hand, was coloured by some intermixture of Northern forms. But the writings of Caxton, toward the end of the fifteenth century, show the language freed from the dialectal forms of his predecessors, more uniform in its orthography, and correspondingly nearer the language of literature in modern times.

86. The gradual advances by which English more and more fully became the language of literature may be seen in the writings of the fifteenth century. In poetry, Chaucer was followed by such disciples as Lydgate and Occleve. In prose, the use of English by Wyclif and his followers had led the supporters of orthodoxy to adopt the language of the people. The first of these champions of orthodoxy to write in English was Reginald Pecock. About the middle of the fifteenth century also, Richard Capgrave wrote a prose *Chronicle* in English, the first after the abrupt close of the *Saxon Chronicle* in 1154. Finally, toward the end of the century many books were printed, and not a few written, by William Caxton, the father of English printing.

87. In only one respect could English be said to lack the fullest acceptance as the language of literature. Latin, which had been the common language of scholars through the Middle Ages, continued to be used occasionally long after the beginning of modern times. But Latin, as a literary language in England, shows a marked decline toward the latter part of the Middle English period. Many a writer, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, used both Latin and English at different times, as Wyclif, Gower, Capgrave, and Fortescue. But the language of mediæval learning soon came to be limited to certain kinds

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of books, as those of a scholarly character, or those intended for the continent as well as for England. From Caxton's time English was the only literary language for the whole English people.

88. To summarize, the history of English in the middle period began, much as in Old English times, as the history of several dialects, none of which had any real ascendency over another. This was owing to the conquest and overthrow of the English kingdom, and the consequent use, by the ruling class, of another language than English. For a time, the language spoken by the conquerors was Norman French, and the language of most of the literature either French or Latin. Gradually, however, the two races became one, and the Normans came to speak and use the language of the English people. At the same time English again came to be written with greater frequency, until it gradually displaced French entirely, and Latin also except as the latter was sometimes preferred by scholars in scholarly treatises. Lastly, English of a particular variety, the East Midland of London, became the prevailing form in literature and the standard written language for the whole English nation.

CHAPTER V

THE MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD

89. Compared with the varied vicissitudes through which Old and Middle English passed, the history of the modern language is exceedingly simple. The language of London has remained the standard form since its establishment, subject only to such changes as are incident to any language in the course of its history. There has been in modern times no revolution affecting the language materially, no conquest by a foreign nation such as happened to the people in the Old English period. Nor has there been any such radical change from within, as that by which West Saxon English in the oldest period was finally replaced by Midland English as the standard speech of later times. Yet English has by no means been stationary in the modern period, and many changes of a general nature require to be chronicled. There are also dialects of Modern English to be described, although these are not relatively so important as in previous periods. Besides, a separate literary language existed for many years in the Lowlands of Scotland, while during the modern period English has become the language of a new nation and of important extensions of the British empire.

90. The establishment of London English as the stand-

ard language of England came about so gradually that it does not seem to have been formally recognized by contemporaries, or by writers of the fifteenth century. In the following century, however, there is at least one distinct recognition of London English as the standard literary form. This is found in the *Arte of English Poesie*, published in 1589 and attributed to George Puttenham. The reference occurs in incidental directions to the poet.

" Our maker, therefore, at these days shall not . . . take the terms of Northern men, such as they use in daily talk, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen, or of their best clerks all is a matter; nor in effect any speech used beyond the river Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day. Yet it is not so courtly or so current as our Southern English is; no more is the far western man's speech. Ye shall therefore take the usual speech of the court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within sixty miles and not much above."

It need scarcely be said that the writer uses Southern in the general sense, the language of London being Midland more exactly.

91. The general use of English in the flowering of our literature during the Elizabethan age indicates that it was already established as the permanent medium of expression for both poetry and prose. It is true, that such a writer as Ascham apologizes for using English, but says with confidence " that when the best of the realm think it [English] honest for them to use, I, one of the meanest sort, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write." There were also a few such favourers of Latin, as Bacon, who believed that " these modern languages " would, " at one time or other, play the bankrupt with books." Indeed Latin continued to be writ-

ten by scholars, as by More, Bacon, Milton, and Newton. But, as in the last of the Middle English period, Latin was generally employed in order to reach some special class of readers on the continent as well as in England, so that its use in no sense affected English as the language of a distinctively national literature.

92. Although the standard written language was already established at the beginning of the modern period, English at that time differed considerably from English to-day. In particular, the tendency to simplification of forms and regularity of usage had not yet brought the language to its present state. Many irregularities therefore appear in early Modern English, as may be seen by examination of the language of Caxton. In nouns, for example, a greater number had irregular plurals, as *winter, year*, in 'three hundred *winter*,' 'forty *year*.' Other irregular plurals are *eyen, hosen*, sometimes *shoon*, for 'eyes, hose, shoes.' The adjectives *long, strong*, were still compared by the use of the older forms *lenger — lengest, strenger — strengest*. In pronouns, to illustrate by two instances, *his* was still used for *its*, which had not yet appeared, and *who* was still infrequent as a relative. Among verbs also, especially among strong verbs, a greater variety of forms was usual than at the present time. Besides, the present indicative third singular still retained the ending *eth*, thus differing from the modern form. Differences in syntax and idiom might also be illustrated.

93. The tendency to simplification of forms and regularity of usage in early Modern English was partly unconscious, as in the previous periods, partly owing to a definite purpose

of " improving " the language, as it was said. English and the other modern languages were compared to their disadvantage with classical Latin. At the same time it was conceived that the former might be placed on a level with Latin by freely adopting Latin words and by imitating the rhetorical effects of Latin writers. This curious idea originated in Italy, and finally reached England through France. On this latter account, the attempt to improve English included the introduction of Romance, as well as Latin, words and also the imitation of Romance writers.

94. The purpose of improving English in the manner described was acknowledged as early as 1533. Sir Thomas Elyot, in the preface to *The Knowledge which maketh a man Wise*, refers to the "strange terms" found in another of his books, and says : " I intended to augment our English tongue, whereby men should as well express more abundantly the thing that they conceived in their hearts (wherefore language was ordained), having words apt for the purpose, as also interpret out of Greek, Latin, or any other tongue into English as sufficiently as out of any of the said tongues into another." Elyot also speaks of "other words late comen out of Italy and France and made denizens among us." George Pettie in 1581 approved borrowing from Latin in these words : " It is indeed the ready way to enrich our tongue and make it copious ; and it is the way all tongues have taken to enrich themselves." In 1593, Thomas Nash, the pamphleteer, defended his borrowings from several foreign languages, on the ground that English contained too many monosyllables.

95. On the other hand, a second class of writers in the

sixteenth century showed a purist tendency with respect to English. These writers also wished to see English placed, so far as possible, on a level with the classic tongues. But they felt that borrowing of words from the classics, from French, and later from Italian and Spanish, was rather a corruption of the speech than a real improvement. One of those to oppose such borrowing was Roger Ascham, already referred to, who disapproved of "using strange words as Latin, French, and Italian," and disagreed "with a man which reasoned the English tongue to be enriched thereby." Thomas Wilson, who published the *Arte of Rhetorike* in 1553, is even more severe upon the use of foreign words. The author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, § 90, also belonged to the same purist school. In the latter work he writes thus of the corruption of the language :

"Albeit peradventure some small admonition be not impertinent, for we find in our English writers many words and speeches amenable, and ye shall see in some many inkhorn terms so ill affected, brought in by men of learning as preachers and schoolmasters; and many strange terms of other languages by secretaries, and merchants and travelers and many dark words, and not usual nor well sounding, though they be daily spoken in court."

96. Each of these classes of writers, however, had its share in the development of English. The two influences worked together, so that the tendency of the first class to adopt foreign and newly coined words, was checked by the second class, while the latter was no doubt influenced to some extent by the former. That the purists were not narrow extremists is shown by other parts of their works.

For example, Wilson, who is so severe upon the affected use of foreign words, says in another place : " Now, whereas words be received, as well Greek as Latin, to set forth our meaning in the English tongue, either for lack of store or else because we would enrich the language, it is well done to use them, and no man therein can be charged for any affectation when all other are agreed to follow the same way." Perhaps no one has put the matter more truly for a language in which borrowed words are common.

97. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries another attempt was made to improve the English language. English writers of this time looked for some means of establishing the language, so that it should remain unchanged and thus be a better means of preserving literature to future generations. The apparent necessity for this grew out of the revival of the classics, and out of false conceptions regarding the classical languages. It was believed, for example, that Greek had remained unchanged from Homer to Plutarch. Besides, writers of Latin imitated the style of Cicero, a fairly fixed quantity, and were esteemed in proportion as they caught the manner of the great Roman orator. In the modern languages, on the other hand, there was no fixed standard to be imitated, and men saw, by comparing the language of one period with another, that there had been great changes in diction, grammar, and style. They feared, therefore, that literature which was committed to such an unstable medium, would soon become antiquated and buried in libraries, rather than read and appreciated by posterity. This idea of the instability of the modern languages early led to the establishment of

Academies in Italy and France, in order to set a standard and prevent change.

98. The proposition to establish in England an Academy like those of Italy and France was often made in the seventeenth century. Perhaps the first to suggest such a thing was Edmund Bolton, who, in 1617, proposed a grand Royal Academy, one part of which was to be devoted to literature. This was even before the establishment of the French Academy (1635) at the suggestion of Richelieu. Milton, though not proposing an Academy, wrote in the highest terms of "him who endeavours, by precept and by rules, to perpetuate that style and idiom of speech and composition which have flourished in the purest periods of the language." Dryden, in 1663, regretted "that, speaking so noble a language as we do, we have not a more certain measure of it, as they have in France, where they have an Academy enacted for that purpose and endowed with large privileges by the present king." In 1679 he again favoured an Academy in these words : "I am desirous, if it were possible, that we might all write with the same certainty of words, and purity of phrase, to which the Italians first arrived and after them the French ; at least that we might advance so far as our tongue is capable of such a standard." Yet Dryden did not depreciate English, for in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesie* he says : "Our language is noble, full, and significant ; and I know not why he who is master of it may not clothe ordinary things in it as decently as the Latin, if he use the same diligence in his choice of words."

99. The proposal to establish an Academy was renewed in the eighteenth century by Swift. In 1710 he suggested

that the *Tatler* should exercise its authority as censor, "and by an annual *index expurgatorius* expunge all words and phrases that are offensive to good sense." In February, 1712, Swift elaborated his idea in a *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*, which was published as a letter to the Earl of Oxford. In one part of this he says : "In order to reform our language, I conceive, my lord, that a free, judicious choice should be made of such persons as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a work without any regard to quality, party, or profession. These, to a certain number at least, should assemble at some appointed time and place, and fix on rules by which they design to proceed."

100. Meanwhile Addison had taken up the proposal of Swift, and in the *Spectator* for August 4, 1711, favoured "something like an Academy that, by the best authorities and rules drawn from the analogy of languages, shall settle all controversies between grammar and idiom." In the number for September 8 of the same year a similar wish was expressed, that "certain men might be set apart as superintendents of our language, to hinder any words of a foreign coin passing among us." Later in the century the feeling was somewhat different. Johnson, though agreeing with Swift and others as to the importance of establishing English, rejected the idea of an Academy, the establishment of which he hoped " the spirit of English liberty will hinder or destroy."

101. These proposals with regard to an Academy came from the purists. They were vigorously opposing the continued introduction of foreign words, and the corruption, as

they called it, going on in the language itself. Dryden was
theoretically a purist, although himself using many foreign
words. Thus, in the *Defence of the Epilogue*, he says : —

"As for the other part of refining, which consists in receiving new
words and phrases, I shall not insist much on it. It is obvious that we
have admitted many, some of which we wanted, and therefore our
language is the richer for them, as it would be by importation of bullion;
others are rather ornamental than necessary; yet by their admission,
the language is become more courtly and our thoughts are better
dressed. . . . I cannot approve of their way of refining, who corrupt
our English idiom by mixing it too much with French: that is a sophis-
tication of language, not an improvement of it; a turning English into
French rather than refining English by French."

102. Other writers of the time took the same view.
Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, also wrote a *Satire on our
Ridiculous Imitation of the French*, in which he refers to the
custom of borrowing French words and phrases as consid-
ered meritorious. Swift thought that the corruption of the
language was due to two classes, the pedants, as they were
called, and the young men who, " terribly possessed with
the fear of pedantry," as he says, " run into a worse ex-
treme, . . . borrow the newest set of phrases, and, if they
take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have
picked up in a coffee-house, or a gaming ordinary, are pro-
duced as flowers of style." The *Spectator* also wished to
" prohibit any French phrases from becoming current in this
kingdom, when those of our own stamp are altogether as
valuable."

103. With the conservatives, in their influence upon lan-
guage, must be classed the lexicographers. English lex-
icography began in the early seventeenth century ; but,

notwithstanding occasional references, it was probably not an important factor in affecting language until the following century.   It would be impossible in our space to estimate the effect of each of the lexicographers in turn.   The greatest of them was Samuel Johnson, whose dictionary appeared in 1755.   The purpose of Johnson, as expressed in his published *Plan* (1747), was " to fix the English language " ; for Johnson believed, like Swift, that English might be rescued from further corruption, and prevented from further change. Before completing his great work, Johnson seems to have partially realized the impossibility of his first purpose, for in the *Preface* to the *Dictionary*, he admits a change in his views.   On the other hand, his great work certainly acted as an important restraining and regularizing influence, while it did still more in fixing the orthography of the language.

104.   To the lexicographers, in their conservative influence upon English, must be added the grammarians and rhetoricians.   The oldest English grammar, as well as the oldest treatise on rhetoric, belong to the sixteenth century.   But these early works were very fragmentary, and made little attempt to distinguish good from bad usage.   In the eighteenth century, however, English grammarians, by approving certain forms and excluding others as dialectal, became more influential in preventing change within the language. At the same time the writers on rhetoric also became more numerous and more important.   Besides, the rhetoricians broke away from the almost exclusive treatment of argumentation, in which former writers had closely followed Aristotle, and began to treat many individual points of usage.

They thus became influential in establishing regularity in form and expression.

105. In addition to these direct influences upon the language, must be mentioned the more indirect influence of the increasing literature of the nation. The usage of writers in one age is imitated by those of a following time. Thus literature becomes a most important conservative influence upon the form and manner of expression. This influence of literary form was especially strong in the eighteenth century, when such stylists as Addison came to be commonly read and imitated.

The Spoken Language

106. The last of the eighteenth century is also notable for attempts to set up a standard form of the spoken language. Early English dictionaries gave little attention to pronunciation of words. A beginning was made by Nathan Bailey, who marked accent in the *Dictionary* which he published in 1727. Johnson followed Bailey in marking accent only. It was not until 1773 that particular vowel sounds were indicated in the *Dictionary* of William Kenrick, who thus established orthoepy in its modern sense. The custom of marking pronunciation was followed by later lexicographers as by Perry in 1775, Sheridan in 1780, Walker in 1791, and by many others in the nineteenth century. Of those named the most important was Walker, a London elocutionist, who gave special attention to orthoepy in his *Dictionary* and has since been closely followed.

107. The effect of this attempt to establish a standard pronunciation has not been as great as was anticipated.

The dictionary of Walker did not prevent change in pronunciation, any more than the dictionary of Johnson had prevented change in the written form. Still the effect of setting up a standard pronunciation has been to retard natural phonetic changes, and to prevent the use of marked dialectal peculiarities by cultivated speakers. Spoken English has thus become more uniform among cultivated people of all classes. On the other hand, the theory of the older orthoepists was that words should be pronounced as they are spelled. Under this theory some irregularities in pronunciation have been introduced, as the orthoepists have tried to establish some pronunciations which had no historical or phonetic reason. An example in point is the word *won't* 'will not'. The *o* in this word represents a former *u* sound, developed from *i* by influence of the preceding *w*. It should, therefore, be pronounced like the vowel of *but*, not like *o* in *don't*. The latter pronunciation is due wholly to the spelling and to the wrong analogy set up by the orthoepist. The tendency of the theory mentioned above has been to make pronunciation conform to some of the anomalies of our present English spelling.

108. During the nineteenth century, the influences affecting English in the preceding hundred years, the schools, lexicographers, grammarians, and rhetoricians, have been even more considerable in their effect. This may be seen from any close examination of literary English in the two periods. In addition to these, there is one tendency in the nineteenth century somewhat different from that affecting the language in any past time. Owing to a new interest in the older literature, especially ballad poetry, at the end

of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, there has been a revival of many archaic words, particularly in poetry. This may be considered in general one form of the purist tendency already noticed in the past history of English.

109. Illustrations of this revival of older words may be seen in the poetry of the whole period, from the time of Coleridge and Wordsworth to that of Tennyson and Browning. For example, Coleridge used such words as *eftsoons*, *I wis*, the latter not originally a pronoun and verb, but an old adverb *iwis* 'certainly,' which was misunderstood by later writers. Tennyson also uses such older words as *rathe* 'early,' *adown*, *anear*, *atween*, *enow*, *lief*, *natheless*, *wot*, *wist*, and many others. Browning shows a similar tendency, many of the words used being not only old, but odd and scarcely likely to be generally adopted. In *The Ring and the Book*, for example, occur *cark*, *clomb*, *dubiety*, *endlong*, *holpen*, *quag*, *repristination*, *round* 'whisper,' *sib*, *smoothens*, *smugly*, *spilth*, and others.

110. The extreme of purism is seen in such a proposal as that of William Barnes, the Dorset poet, who wished to bring the English speech back to its original Teutonic character. In his grammar of English, or *Outline of English Speechcraft*, he uses such terms as *time-taking* for 'tense,' *mark-word of suchness* for 'adjective,' *pitch-mark* for 'comparison.' Such an attempt, absurd as it is, rests upon the serious belief that there is something pernicious in a borrowed word, even one of long standing and good use. That such a belief rests on no adequate foundation may be seen from a later discussion.

Dialects in Modern English

111. The literary language of England has thus far been traced through the modern period without reference to dialects. Yet the elevation of a standard literary language, based upon the speech of London, did not prevent other dialects from continuing to exist among the common people. In Britain alone there are still six important dialect divisions, without including Wales or the Highlands of Scotland. These six divisions are the Southern, including the older Southern and Kentish ; the Midland, the Eastern, and the Western, within the boundaries of the older Midland ; the Northern and the Lowland, included within the district of the older Northern and the Lowlands of Scotland over which Northern had spread in Middle English times. The exact boundaries of these may be seen from the map on the opposite page.

112. Owing to the extent to which standard spoken English has been cultivated in all parts of the island of Britain, these dialects are found mainly among the peasant classes. In Scotland, however, a broad Scotch English is still used at times by many educated people. The dialects, as spoken by the peasants of England, are so unlike that a yeoman of one district would often have difficulty in making himself understood by a yeoman of another. Some idea of the different dialects may be gained from their use in literature. Thus Southern is represented by the works of William Barnes already referred to, § 110, and by passages in the novels of Blackmore and Hardy. In respect to dialect, George Eliot's *Middlemarch* represents northeast Midland,
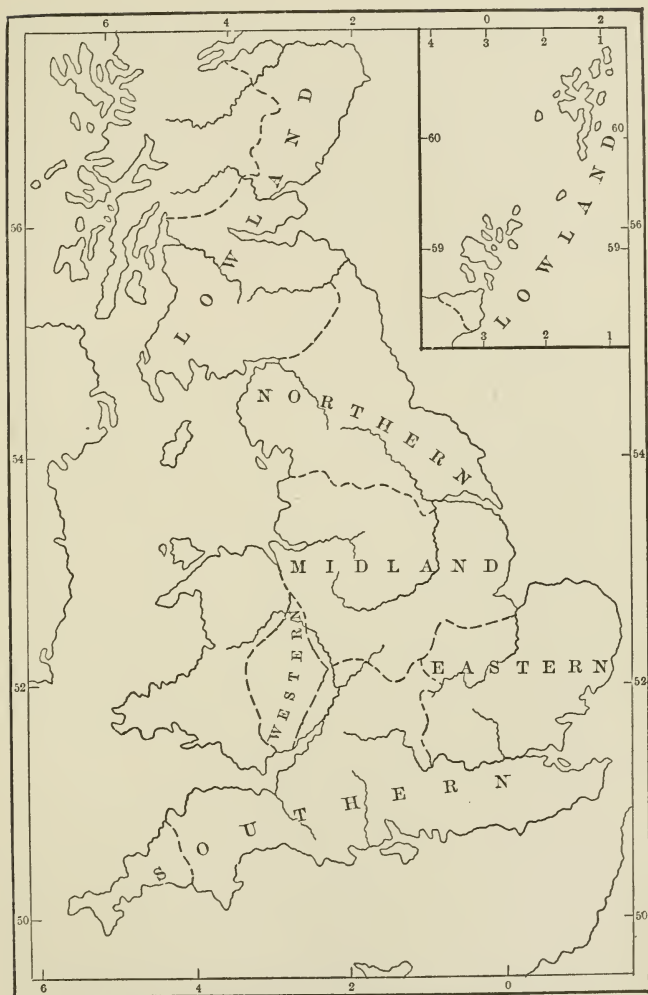
ENGLISH DIALECTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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and Mrs. Ward's *David Grieve*, northwest Midland, while
Tennyson's *Northern Farmer* represents the Northern divi-
sion.   The Scottish dialect requires more extended notice,
since it has had a literature of its own, distinct from the lit-
erature of England, and from ordinary dialectal works.
Besides these, the language of other parts of the British
Empire and that of the United States deserves some con-
sideration.

Lowland Scotch

113. Lowland Scotch, the English of the south of Scot-
land, is an outgrowth of the Northern dialect, which had
spread over that region in Middle English times.   It did
not differ materially from Northern English, until about the
middle of the fifteenth century, although there had been an
uninterrupted series of Scottish writers from the early four-
teenth century, the period of Scottish independence.   From
the middle of the fifteenth century, therefore, to the union
with England in 1603, Lowland Scotch was the literary lan-
guage of the north.   After the union with England, Scotch
was still spoken by the majority of the people of Scotland,
and it is still a living language, although among the educated
a variety of standard English is also used.

114. The father of Scottish poetry was John Barbour,
archdeacon of Aberdeen.   A contemporary of Chaucer, he
had half completed his epic, the *Bruce*, in 1375.   Another
epic of his, the *Brut*, relating the descent of the Scottish
kings from the Roman Brutus, has not been preserved.   Next
in importance was Andrew Wyntoun, who completed about
1420 the *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*.   Among other

Scottish poets of importance were James I (1394–1437), who wrote the *King's Quhair* ' quire or book '; William Dunbar (1460–1530?), one of the greatest Scottish writers; Gawain Douglas (1474–1522), David Lindsay (1490?–1555), and King James VI, James I, of England (1566–1625), whose poems are noteworthy mainly because they were written by a king. A fuller account of these, and of their works, belongs rather to literature than to the history of language.

115. The variety of Lowland Scotch, which was finally elevated to the position of literary language, was that spoken in and about the capital city, Edinburgh, rather than the speech of the extreme southern lowlands. This was affected, in the course of its history, by various influences from without, as the Norse, Celtic, French, Classical, and English, of which only the briefest accounts need be given. The Norse influence was probably slighter than on Northern English proper. The Celtic influence was somewhat greater than on English, since Celtic was spoken in close proximity to the literary centre for a longer period than in England. For this reason a considerable number of Celtic words was borrowed by the Scotch. What is known as the French influence was due to that close union of Scotland with France, by which the former was able to retain her independence for so many years. Owing to this close alliance, many French words that have no place in English, entered Lowland Scotch, as shown for example by the poems of Burns.

116. The Classical influence on Lowland Scotch was due to the Revival of Learning, by which Scotland was as directly affected as England. Lastly, Scotch writers were constantly

influenced in vocabulary as in subject by the literature of England. This influence was especially strong at the time of the Reformation, since the leaders of the movement in Scotland were in direct intercourse with the English reformers. There was, too, no Scotch translation of the Scriptures, and the English Bible was used by the Reformers in Scotland. This use was strenuously opposed by the Catholic party, and was actually illegal until, in 1543, by act of Parliament, "it was made free to all, man and woman, to read the Scriptures in their own tongue, or in the English tongue." The literature of the Elizabethan age also affected Scotland, and both of these influences materially aided in bringing about the adoption of English as the literary language of the Scottish people.

117. It was said above that the Scottish speech still remained after the Scottish writers had begun to use English, and that it reappeared in popular poetry. In fact, Scotch experienced a strong revival in the ballad and lyric poetry of Ramsay, Fergusson, and Burns. Still, these poets did not use the vernacular Scotch in its purity, but rather a conventionalized form made up of Scotch and English. This may be exemplified from some of the poems of Burns, by showing the exact relationship between the number of Scotch words and those that are English, or Scotch only in form. For instance, *A man's a man for a' that*, contains 115 different words, of which only 18 are not English. In *Duncan Gray cam here to woo*, the different words in which number 117, there are only 30 words which are Scotch. In *Auld Lang Syne*, out of 80 words, there are 24, and in *Scots wha hae*, out of 100 words, there are only 9 which are not English.

118. The history of the standard speech and the principal English dialects, which has been traced at some length through the various periods, may be illustrated by the diagram on the following page. This shows the vicissitudes of the three principal speech divisions, Northern, Midland, and Southern, Kentish being included in the latter. With each some typical works or authors representing the various dialects are given, and the lines are made broader or narrower in proportion as the literature is of greater or less importance. The dotted line crossing the chart represents the standard literary language which first sprang from the Northern dialect, next from the Southern, and finally from the Midland, to which it still belongs. It should be noted that, from the time of Chaucer to the reign of James I, there was really a dual standard in the language. For the English of Edinburgh was as truly a standard for the Scotch in this period, as the English of London was for the people of England. With the accession of James I, however, a single standard speech again came to be recognized by all.

ENGLISH IN IRELAND AND THE COLONIES

119. The English language, originally confined to Britain, has spread to many different lands in modern times. Owing to the conquest and settlement of Ireland, English became the language of that island, gradually reducing Irish to a peasant dialect. Considerable changes have occurred in Irish English since the conquest, but the cultivation of standard English in both speech and literature, especially since the union in 1800, has prevented the establishment

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

	NORTHERN.	MIDLAND.	SOUTHERN.
OLD ENGLISH	700 — CÆDMON, BEDE		LAWS OF INE
	800		
	900	PSALTER	ALFRED
	1000 — DURHAM GLOSSES	RUSHWORTH MATTHEW	ÆLFRIC
	1100		WORCESTER CHRONICLE
MIDDLE ENGLISH	1200	PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE, ORM, LAYAMON	ANCREN RIWLE, ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER
	1300 — CURSOR MUNDI	ROBERT OF BRUNNE	
	1400 — BARBOUR, WYNTOUN	CHAUCER, WYCLIF, LYDGATE	TREVISA
	1500 — DUNBAR	CAXTON	
MODERN ENGLISH	1600 — JAMES VI	TYNDAL, SHAKESPEARE, MILTON	
	1700 — RAMSAY	DRYDEN, SWIFT	EXMOOR SCOLDING
	1800 — BURNS, SCOTT	JOHNSON, COLERIDGE, MACAULAY	BARNES

of a separate standard for Ireland. Besides, the suggestion of such names as those of Goldsmith, Sheridan, and Burke shows that, even in the eighteenth century, Irishmen contributed to what is called English literature. Yet the English of the common people in Ireland is decidedly dialectal. This is due to the fact that certain changes, which have affected British English in the last two centuries, have not equally affected Irish English. An older pronunciation is therefore retained, as illustrated by such words as *tea*, *wheat*, pronounced *tay*, *whate*, as in England in the eighteenth century. No doubt Celtic, too, has affected the English of the lower classes.

120. English is also the language of the British colonies, in so far as it has displaced the native tongues. It is thus the speech of the dominant classes in India, British America, Australia, South Africa, and in many smaller parts of the British Empire. In all of these countries the literary language of England is recognized as the standard, although the written language outside the mother country usually differs in details, owing to inevitable linguistic changes. Such differences are more noticeable in the spoken language, although as yet no distinctive dialects can be said to exist in any of the English colonies. That such dialects will appear in the future seems certain from the history of language.

American English

121. English is not only the language of the British Empire, but also, owing to the separation of the American colonies from the mother country, the language of a new

nation.   It is important to consider, therefore, the relation of American to British English in both written and spoken forms.   Yet the lack of careful studies of American English, and especially of its relation to that of the mother country, makes it impossible to give more than general facts and tendencies.

122. Historically, American English is based upon the language of England in the seventeenth century, the great era of American colonization.   This foundation of seventeenth century English has been variously affected from both within and without.   From without, it has been influenced by immigration from the mother country and other lands.   Yet in general, people from England as from other foreign lands have adopted the usage of America, so that few changes can be directly attributed to them.   Such changes as have been brought about by their influence are mainly in the direction of additions to the vocabulary.   Besides this, the most important external influence has been that of the literature of England, which has been a potent factor in making the literary language of America conform to the standard literary language of Britain.

123. The influences on American English from within have been more numerous.   In the first place, American English has retained words and meanings of words which, though once common in England, are no longer used.   In many parts of America also, there has been a retention of an older pronunciation than that now found in the mother country.   This retention of older forms seems to be due to the curious fact that the colony usually tends to preserve the language of the time of separation.   In addition to this

influence must be reckoned the development of a vigorous national life, which has led to considerable changes in vocabulary at least.

124. Besides these somewhat indirect influences from within, there have been others of a more direct nature. The first of these, which may be called the purist tendency, has asserted the necessity of conforming to British standards, as representing the only correct usage. As early as 1789, Franklin called attention to "innovations" in the English of America. John Pickering, who made the first collection of "Americanisms" in 1816, pretended to point out the "corruptions," in order to preserve the purity, of English. Worcester, in his *Dictionary* of 1830, conformed very largely to British standards, opposing the views and usages of Webster. Finally, the extreme to which the purist has sometimes gone may be seen from the epigrammatic dictum of Richard Grant White, — "In language everything distinctively American is bad."

125. Opposed to the purists in their view of American English are those who have seen, or have thought they have seen, the beginning of a separate standard for America. The first of these was Noah Webster, with whom American lexicography began in the first decade of this century. Webster recognized American, as distinct from British, usage, and an American pronunciation, while he also set up an American orthography. This recognition of American usage was especially avowed in the *American Dictionary of the English Language*, which was published in 1828. Many others have followed the lead of Webster more or less completely. The more conservative of these base their

belief in the eventual recognition of a somewhat separate standard for America on the inevitable changes in language, and the impossibility that two nations so far separate as England and America should conform in all respects to a single standard of usage.

126. None of these tendencies has entirely replaced, or overcome, the others. American literary English may be said to be the product of all of them working together. In the first place there is substantial agreement in the literary standards of the two countries. Some minor differences occur in grammatical forms, in idiom, and in usage. Greater differences are found in the orthography, and still more considerable divergences are noticeable in the vocabularies of the two nations. Yet the influence of a common literature in the past, as well as the literary relations of the two countries at present, will no doubt keep American literary English to a parallel development with the literary language of England. Moreover, as America produces a more extensive literature of its own, there will probably come on both sides of the water a tolerance of characteristic and reasonable differences, so that neither people need regard its somewhat separate standard as in any true sense superior or inferior to the other.

127. When the spoken language of the two countries is taken into account, more considerable divergences naturally appear. Take, for example, the vocabularies of the two peoples. It would be impossible that there should not be differences between democracy and aristocracy in the language of governmental relations. Such differences are too obvious to need illustration. But the differences between

a democratic government and one with an hereditary and titular aristocracy belong not only to governmental, but also to social, relations. Besides, social customs will seldom be exactly the same for any long period in two widely sepa-rated countries. Then, too, the cultivated language of every country is constantly receiving some additions from the language of common life, and as the conditions of life differ in the vigorous growth of America and the more staid conservatism of England, so the additions to the stand-ard language from this source must differ in themselves.

128. These differences in vocabulary may be exemplified by colloquialisms of the two countries. Examples are Brit-ish *clever, ill, knocked up*, and American *smart, sick, tired.* Many colloquial words have different meanings in the two countries ; as *nice*, which means ‘ small, delicate,’ in Britain, ‘ agreeable ’ in America ; *fix*, which means ‘ establish ’ in Britain, ‘ arrange, repair,’ in America ; *quite*, used in the sense of ‘ entirely ’ in Britain, but in the sense of ‘very ’ in America. The divergences in the spoken language of the two countries are more considerable when we examine particular phases of life. Take for instance the nomencla-ture of railway travel. Compare the following pairs, the first of which is American, the second British in each case : *Engineer — driver; fireman — stoker; conductor — guard; baggage-car — van; baggage — luggage; trunk — box; check — register; car — carriage; track — line; freight-train — goods-train; to switch — to shunt.*

129. As to pronunciation, no American dictionary now attempts to follow British usage exactly. Many examples might be noted, as the large classes of words with vowels

like those in *ask, half, path, dance,* and *long.*   In some
cases in which the standard is nominally the same, Ameri-
can usage does not follow the dictionary, as in the great
number of words like *hot, not,* etc.   America differs from
England, also, in not recognizing the speech of any one
locality as standard.   The only standard recognized in
America is that of dictionaries, and these attempt to fol-
low, not one locality, but the best usage of the country as a
whole.   The standard thus set up is more artificial than if
the speech of a particular locality were chosen, and partly
for this reason the dictionaries, influential as they are, have
not been able to counteract considerable dialectal diver-
gence.   In time, perhaps, the speech of one or more locali-
ties may come to be recognized as the standard by all good
speakers.

130. In one other important respect American English
differs from the modern language of England.   Spoken
English throughout America is more uniform among all
classes, and there are no such strongly marked peasant dia-
lects as in England.   This is no doubt due to the fact, that
the language originated in the fairly homogeneous middle
class of English society, and that, since its transplanting to
America, it has not had time to break up into widely diverse
dialects.   Yet, as pointed out by Whitney [1] nearly thirty years
ago, we can by no means safely say that there are no dialects
in America.   Although there has been little careful study in
this field, three great divisions — the east, the west, and the
south — may be said to have characteristic differences, not
only in the language of the uneducated, but also, to some

[1] *Language and the Study of Language,* p. 174.

extent, in that of the educated. Of these three great divisions, the most pronounced dialects are those of New England for the east, the upper Mississippi valley for the west, and perhaps Virginia and the Carolinas for the south. It is also true that when the speech of the uneducated alone is taken into account, the dialectal peculiarities are more numerous and more marked.

The Spread of English

131. Before closing this general survey of English in modern times, the spread of the English language must be noted as one of the most significant facts of language history. How many of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes originally settled in Britain can never be known. At the time of Elizabeth, however, English was spoken by at least five million people. At present it is the language of considerably more than one hundred million people, a larger number than has ever used a single homogeneous speech. Formerly also English was spoken only by the inhabitants of Britain and her colonies. In the nineteenth century, English has spread to many foreign countries as the language of trade, while the literature of England is read by the people of many nations which do not use the English speech.

132. It is the duty of the historian of language to chronicle what has taken place in the past, rather than to suggest what may come in the future. Yet the extension of English in the past naturally suggests the possibility of its further extension in the future. Benjamin Franklin expressed the

opinion in his *Autobiography*, that English might sometime take a place second only to French in general use.   The prediction has often been made in the present century that English will eventually become the universal language of the world.   The opinion of Franklin has certainly been more than realized.   The second prediction is one which expresses at least a possibility.   Yet so largely is language a matter of convention, that to predict the universality of one form or another would require a knowledge of the future thought and feeling, the future rank and condition of all nations.   Such a prediction is therefore scarcely more than idle speculation.

III

THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY

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CHAPTER VI

THE NATIVE ELEMENT

133. By a history of the English vocabulary is meant a history of the general changes which have affected the native word stock, as distinct from those that have affected the sounds and inflections of words. In considering such changes in such a language as English, two classes of words are to be taken into account, — the native and the borrowed word. To the first element belong the original words brought over from the continent by our Teutonic forefathers, as well as those that have been formed from them by native changes. To the second element belong those words which have been borrowed from the various languages with which the English people have come in contact, together with those formed from them since the period of borrowing. While these two elements have usually been assimilated to one another in English, each has in some respects a separate history. The native element naturally merits the first attention.

134. When the Teutonic peoples came to Britain their vocabulary was in the main a homogeneous one ; that is,

it had been but slightly affected by foreign influences.
It consisted almost wholly of words that had been once
common Teutonic, so that most of them appear in some
of the other Teutonic languages. This was true, except
as English had naturally kept some words which, for various
reasons of usage, had not been retained by the other languages of the Teutonic group. Besides, the vocabulary of
Old English times included some words which had been
formed after the separation of the English from their Teutonic relatives on the continent.

135. The special process by which English of the oldest
period increased its vocabulary was word composition,
the process common to all the Indo-European languages.
Words were compounded in one of two ways, either by the
union of independent words, or by the use of prefixes and
suffixes. There is in reality no strict dividing line between
these two means of word formation, because all prefixes and
suffixes are supposed to have been independent words at
one time, and some of them were so used even in Old
English. Nevertheless the classification is convenient.

136. The freedom with which Old English formed compounds from independent words may be illustrated by some
particular series. For example, the word *land* was part of
at least sixty-three compounds in Old English, while the
word *even* ' evening ' was used in twenty-six, and *life* in
twenty-seven, compounds. These compounds were of the
three classes — nouns, adjectives, and verbs. The expressiveness of some of them may be illustrated by some which
have not been preserved to modern times, as *life-busy, life-
care, life-day, life-fast* ' having life,' *life-ward* ' guardian of

life,' *life-way*, *life-well* 'living spring,' *life-win* 'joy of life.
These are typical examples. Besides, there must have been
many compounds once used, but not now known because
not found in any relic of the older literature.

137. In addition to compounds of independent words,
compounds were also formed by the use of prefixes and
suffixes. Some idea of the number of Old English prefixes
may be gained from the following list : *a-*, *and-*, *after-*,
be-, *ed-*, *for-*, *forð-* (forth), *ge-*, *mid-*, *mis-*, *of-*, *on-*, *or-*,
oð- (oth), *to-*, *un-*, *under-*, *up-*, *with-*, *wan-*. Many of
these were used in forming more than one class of words,
as nouns, adjectives, verbs, so that the number of such
compounds was considerable. The Old English suffixes
were also numerous. The following, among others less
frequent, were used in forming nouns : *-cen* 'kin,' *-dōm*
'dom,' *-en*, *-ere* 'er,' *-estre* 'ster,' *-hād* 'hood (head),' *-ing*,
-ling, *-ness*, *-scipe* 'ship.' The Old English suffixes forming
adjectives were *-ede* 'ed,' *-en*, *-feald* 'fold,' *-full*, *-ig* 'y,' *-isc*
'ish,' *-lēas* 'less,' *-līc* 'ly,' *-sum* 'some,' *-weard* 'ward.'
Among verb suffixes were *-nian*, *-sian*, *-lǣcan*, as in *fast-en*,
clean-se, *know-ledge* (ME. *knowlechen*). There were also
adverbial suffixes which were connected with inflectional
endings of nouns and adjectives.

138. Some idea of the richness and flexibility of the Old
English vocabulary may be gained by the following com-
parison. In the great epic poem *Beowulf*, which consists
of less than thirty-two hundred lines, there are nineteen
synonyms for 'ocean,' nine for 'ship,' and eleven for
'sword.' These are all simple words. In addition, there
are twenty-three compound words used for 'ocean,' twelve

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for 'ship,' and eighteen for 'sword.' These are all true compounds also, and do not include descriptive phrases made up of a genitive and a noun, of which there are at least ten for the idea of 'ocean.'

139. In addition to word composition, the principal process by which the vocabulary was increased in Old English times, a less important means of growth must be noted. The word stock of a language is indirectly increased by any process which tends to form two words from one. In the Old English period doublets were indirectly formed from single roots by an important phonetic process called mutation, or change of root vowel, § 250. Mutation is illustrated by such words as *man, foot, goose,* with their plurals, which have different vowels, as *men, feet, geese.* The latter examples are connected by inflection. In the case of words not so connected, however, the mutated and unmutated forms soon came to be practically separate roots, from each of which might be formed a separate series of derivatives. Examples of modern words thus connected are *sale — sell, tale — tell, long — length, full — fill, lode — lead, dole — deal, food — feed, blood — bleed, grow — green, proud — pride.*[1]

CHANGES IN THE NATIVE ELEMENT SINCE OLD ENGLISH TIMES

140. The changes that have affected the native element in the English vocabulary since Old English times are principally two, growth and decay, changes that affect the word

[1] The relation of mutation to increase of the vocabulary was wholly indirect. It was never a direct, or conscious, means of forming new words.

stock of all languages in the course of their history. The slightest examination of any Old English work shows that, while many of the older words now exist in somewhat different forms, many have been entirely lost. This loss of words is partly a natural process, partly a change produced by the various external influences that have affected English. The first is common to all languages, since changes in men's thought and feeling, as well as in the material things about them, require new words for expression. The second is a more artificial process, and has differently affected different languages.

141. The most considerable losses to native English words have undoubtedly resulted from such external influences. For example, conversion to Christianity brought a new religion to England. As many of the words used in the religion of the Teutons were unsuited to Christianity, they were displaced by words introduced from other languages by Christian teachers. Yet some of the older words were retained in modified meanings, as *bless, Easter, ghost, God, heaven, lent,* or new compounds of native words were made, as *gospel, Lady day.* Similar losses have occurred in words referring to governmental relations, owing to the conquests of the Danes and the Normans. While such native words as *king, sheriff, alderman,* are still used in older or modified meanings, a multitude of words for governmental relations have been borrowed by English. Many other examples might also be given of similar losses to the native element by reason of external influences.

142. Losses of native words have been especially numerous in the case of compounds. For example, of the

sixty-three compounds of *land* mentioned in § 136, only
two, *landlord* and *landmark*, are in ordinary use to-day,
although two or three others are found in the older modern
literature.   Of the twenty-six compounds of *even*, only two,
evensong and *eventide*, remain in occasional use, while
lifeless, lifelike, livelihood are the only compounds of *life*
now left of the twenty-seven once existing in the language.
Great losses have also occurred in words formed by the use
of prefixes and suffixes.   For instance, although there were
many compounds in Old English with the prefixes *and-, or-*,
and *mid-*, only one of each, *answer, ordeal, midwife*, now
remains.   Of some of the other older prefixes not a single
example is left in Modern English.

143. With the loss of compounds since Old English
times, the capability of forming compounds has also been
partially lost.   Yet this Teutonic method of increasing the
vocabulary has never entirely disappeared.   Many new
compounds have been formed since the oldest period, and
by such compounds the word stock of English has con-
tinued to be enlarged in all periods.   The difference in this
respect between the earlier and later periods is, that since
Old English times word composition has not been the prin-
cipal means of increase in the number of words.

144. That the process of forming compound words has
continued to be an important source of growth to the Eng-
lish vocabulary, may be shown from many examples.   For
instance, the word *life*, which has been already used in
illustrating older compounds, has become a part of many
compounds not found in the Old English dictionaries.
Examples are *lifeblood, lifeboat, lifeful, lifehold, lifelong, life-*

mate, lifesome, lifespring, lifestring, lifetime. These are as close compounds as any formed in Old English times. In addition, there are many compounds still written with a hyphen, as *life-giving, life-preserver, life-saving, life-size, life-weary.* Some of these examples are poetic and rare, but all occur in literature of the modern period. Besides, some of the older prefixes and suffixes are still used in the formation of compound words.

145. Moreover, there are many strict compounds, as indicated by inflection and syntax, which are not marked by any sign of union. Many of these are not even recognized by the dictionaries, still less by English speakers. The word *life*, for example, forms such unmarked compounds as *life buoy, life car, life estate, life guard, life insurance, life line, life rate, life school,* and many others. Similar unmarked compounds occur in the case of many verbs, to which various adverbs are appended in ordinary usage. For example, the verb *look* forms true compounds in such phrases as *look at, look away, look in (into), look out, look up,* and others. In all such cases the adverb is a virtual suffix, since it is indispensable to the meaning and syntax of the verb.

146. It was said that in Old English times the vocabulary was indirectly increased by the phonetic change called mutation, § 139. Less important phonetic changes since Old English times have also resulted in the formation of a few doublets. For example, owing to slight phonetic influences such doublets have been formed as *emmet — ant, dent — dint, quid — cud, quitch — couch* in *quitchgrass — couchgrass.* Doublets due to difference in stress are *off —*

of, than — then, thorough — through, too — to. Colloquial
doublets due to the same cause are *will — 'll, had — 'd,
will not — won't,* and many others. Occasionally doublets
are the result of borrowing from another dialect than that
from which standard English has developed. An example
is *fat — vat* 'a vessel,' in which the first is the true Mid-
land form, while the second has been borrowed from the
Southern dialect, § 65.

147. In addition to growth and decay, which have so far
been illustrated in the history of the native element, there
are certain minor changes which affect in other ways the
vocabulary of any language. One of the most interesting
of these is the obscuration of compounds, or loss of identity
in the separate parts, which has resulted mainly from loss
of stress. The change is by no means peculiar to one
branch of the Indo-European family or indeed to the family
itself. The theory of inflectional forms, for example, sup-
poses original roots to which have been added suffixes that
were once independent words. These were later modified
by the same processes that have changed the form of com-
pounds in English. Even in Old English the suffixes *-dom,
-hood, -ship,* were independent words, although they have
lost this character since Old English times.

148. English has many of these obscure compounds, a
few of which will suffice for illustration. Some still preserve
a syllable for the word obscured, as *bridal,* OE. *brȳd-ealu*
'bride-feast'; *brimstone,* ME. *brenston* 'burning-stone';
cranberry for **craneberry,* like German *Kranbeere.* Three
common words of the same sort are *daisy,* OE. *dæges-ēage*
'day's eye'; *darling,* OE. *dēorling,* allied to English *dear;*

and *starboard*, OE. *stēorbord* 'steering-side.' *Goodbye* is
a familiar case of an obscure compound. The word stands
for the formula 'God be wi' ye,' or possibly for 'God be
by ye.' The word *God* also occurs in *gossip*, ME. *godsib*
'related in God, a sponsor,' possibly also in *gospel* 'God's
spell (story).' Even greater obscuration is seen in *hussy*,
OE. *hūswīf* 'housewife'; *woman*, OE. *wīfman; orchard*,
OE. *ortgeard* 'plant yard.'

149. Other obscure compounds are now monosyllabic,
one or more syllables having been entirely lost. An ex-
ample of this sort is *lord*, OE. *hlāford* < **hlāf-weard*[1] 'loaf
ward,' the syllable *hlāf* also occurring in *lady*, OE. *hlāf-dige*
'loaf-kneader.' The word *yes* is for *yea so*, OE. *gēse* (**gē-
swā*), while *world* is made up of *wer* 'man' and *ældu* 'age,'
so that it originally meant 'the age of man.'

150. When a compound is obscured and the original
meaning changed, a new compound may be set up with the
meaning of the older word. The language is thus enriched
by a new word. Of this linguistic fact there are many ex-
amples in English. To illustrate, *housewife* is a new com-
pound with the same meaning that *hussy* (< OE. *hūs-wīf*)
originally possessed, the latter having lost the older idea.
Other examples are *lively* — *lifelike, livelong* — *lifelong*.
Somewhat similar is *spider-web* beside *cob-web*, since in the
latter case the older meaning of *cob* (*cop*) 'spider' has been
wholly lost.

151. Another change in vocabulary is that by which

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[1] The sign < means 'from, or derived from.' A word with a star before
it is a theoretical form. It does not exist in the language, but must be
assumed in order to account for a form which is found.

homonyms are produced. Homonyms are words from dif-
ferent roots which, by various changes, have come to have
the same phonetic form. The term is often incorrectly
limited to words which have the same written form, as *bear*
vb. and sb. ; but *bare* the adjective is also a homonym of
these two. The number of homonyms in English is consid-
erable. The examples already quoted, *bear* sb., *bear* vb.,
bare adj., are all Teutonic words. Other Teutonic homo-
nyms are *blow* vb., *blow* sb. ' flower,' *blow* ' stroke ' ; *can* vb.,
can sb. ; *hide* vb., *hide* ' skin,' *hide* ' measure of land.'

152. Some purely English homonyms are due to confu-
sion of forms, or contamination. Thus, *abide* ' await for ' is
the proper phonetic descendant of OE. *abīdan*, but *abide*
' suffer ' is from OE. *ābycgan* ' pay for,' ME. *abyen*. So *bid*
' pray ' and *bid* ' command ' show confusion of two verbs,
OE. *biddan* and *bēodan*, § 431. In many cases homo-
nyms result from borrowing a word similar in form to one
of native origin ; but the discussion of these and of homo-
nyms exclusively foreign belongs to a consideration of the
foreign element.

153. On the other hand, homonyms sometimes lose their
identity by confusion of meaning. The word *ooze* (formerly
wooze) combines the meanings of two older words, OE.
wōs ' juice ' and *wās* ' pool, slime,' which became homonyms
in Middle English. So *tight* includes an older word mean-
ing ' close, thick, strong,' and one meaning ' quickly,' as in
the expression ' run as *tight* as you can.' Sometimes also
contamination of meaning takes place in the case of homo-
nyms. The word *dear* in such an expression as ' her *dearest*
foe ' is often supposed to be the same as the adjective *dear*

'beloved.' It is in reality a homonym of the latter, and comes from an Old English adjective meaning 'dreadful.' The same word is common in the colloquialism ' *dear* me,' although it is here also commonly misunderstood.

154. The importance of the native element in English, and its persistence in spite of great changes, cannot obscure the fact that English has received large and important additions to its vocabulary from foreign sources. In fact, the greatest increase to the English vocabulary from any single source has been through the borrowing of words from other languages. It is important, therefore, to consider the various sources from which words have been borrowed, as well as their relation to the original word stock. These subjects will accordingly be treated in the following chapters.

CHAPTER VII

THE BORROWED ELEMENT IN THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY

155. Important as is the borrowed element in English, it is not easily treated on several accounts. For instance, it is difficult in some cases to separate borrowed, from native, words. Frequently, also, words borrowed in early times have been displaced by similar words of later introduction, and this may cause confusion. Again, in tracing the history of a word, its ultimate origin must be separated from the immediate source from which it has come. A Greek or Persian word, for example, may have come to English in a Latin or French form. Its English form will, therefore, depend more upon the immediate source of the borrowing, than upon its ultimate origin. Such, and many other considerations, make it by no means easy to treat completely this important element in English. Yet some idea of the influences which have brought about the adoption of foreign words may be concisely given, together with some examples of the borrowed words in the language.

156. Borrowing of foreign words is due to more or less direct contact of one nation with another. The slightest direct contact of two peoples, in a friendly or hostile manner, might easily lead to the adoption by each of at least the name of the other nation. More intimate association usually

results in more considerable borrowings which are limited only by the barriers that custom and use may set. The Romans borrowed Greek words because the Latin people was dominated by Greek ideals in literature, art, and culture. Owing to the spread of Latin Christianity, to the use of Latin as a common language of culture, and to the great revival of Latin learning, the modern nations of western Europe have borrowed extensively from the language of the Roman Empire. The English people, owing primarily to the conquest by French invaders, and ever since to more or less intimate relations, have borrowed largely from the French language. Finally, in modern times the English people have again drawn upon Latin and Greek for scientific and technical terms. The peculiarity of this later borrowing consists in the fact that many of these technical terms have been coined by putting together words or parts of words not so united in the original language.

157. As to this tendency to borrow and use foreign words, nations have radically differed. Some have freely adopted words from all languages with which there has been the slightest contact. The conservatism of others has withstood incorporation of any considerable loan element even from the most friendly nation. To the latter class belongs modern German, while English is one of the most striking examples of the first class. The importance of the foreign element in the English vocabulary, therefore, makes it necessary to consider with some care the classes of words borrowed, and their relation to the native speech.

158. The first class of words to be borrowed consists of nouns, or name words. This is natural, since the exchange

of commodities, the first result of contact between two peoples, naturally leads to the borrowing of names for the commodities exchanged. With long continued and more intimate contact, one nation may adopt from another ideas, customs, even forms of religion, law, and government. These influences also result in the adoption of new words, unless the conservatism of the language withstands this tendency, and makes old words or new compounds serve instead of words from the foreign tongue. In more advanced stages of civilization, travel or books of travel, and translations of various kinds may have their influence in the introduction of new words. Still further, a new science may be adopted, and with it the scientific nomenclature from the nation of which the loan is made. It may also become the custom of one nation to borrow names for new inventions, new sciences, or new arts springing up, instead of coining names from the old word stock.

159. Foreign influences so far mentioned account for the borrowing of new names of objects and ideas, or nouns, and names of actions, or verbs. Besides, intimate association of two peoples may result in the borrowing of some words describing nouns, or adjectives, as they are called. This is natural since adjectives are logically the names of qualities, or attributes, and for this reason are grouped in the mind with names of things and of actions. But it is evident from a regard to the nature of words, that nouns are borrowed most readily and in largest numbers, while verbs and adjectives are less commonly borrowed, and fewer of the latter than of the former.

160. Considering the nature of other parts of speech,

it is clear that the borrowing of such words as pronouns, numerals, adverbs, and particles could result only from the closest contact of two peoples through a considerable period of time. Such words are so unobtrusive in use that they are the last to be given up by one people, or borrowed by another. But if borrowing from these classes of words should take place, it would probably first affect pronouns, since these partake most of the character of names. On the other hand, the chances are exceedingly small that a particle would be adopted from one language by another, although such a thing is by no means impossible if the intercourse between two nations is sufficiently intimate. To illustrate both of these less common cases of borrowing it may be noted that, owing to the settlement of the Danes in England, the Norse pronominal forms *they*, *their*, came into English, § 373. By the influence of French, also, the interjection *alas* came to be a part of our present speech. Yet of such words the number borrowed in any language is exceedingly small.

161. In tracing the borrowed element in English, each of the three periods, Old, Middle, and Modern English, will be considered separately. This plan will make it somewhat easier to connect the words entering the language from foreign sources with the foreign influences through which they have been borrowed. On the other hand it must be remembered that, though contact of two peoples may begin in one period, it may result in the more or less frequent borrowing of words in all subsequent time. This is exemplified in English especially in the case of Celtic and French.

THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD

162. It has been said, § 134, that the vocabulary of our Teutonic ancestors when they reached Britain was practically homogeneous. It should be added, however, that a very few Latin words had probably entered the language before the Teutons left their continental home. This may be inferred from the fact that some words are found in the oldest English in common with the Teutonic languages of the continent. Such words are *chalk, mint, crisp, short.* Probably the words *Saturday, coulter, fuller* (of cloth) are also to be included, and, possibly, *anchor* and *ark.*

163. When the Teutons reached Britain and conquered it, their language was at once affected by another foreign influence. Owing to contact with the conquered Celts, some words were adopted from their language. It was natural, for instance, that Celtic names of places should be retained by the Teutons. In fact, Celtic place names are found in all parts of England, though much more commonly in the north and west, and especially in Scotland and Ireland. These may be illustrated as follows : Celtic *Aber* ' mouth ' is found in *Aberdeen* ' mouth of the Dee,' and also in *Aberfeldie, Abergeldie; bally* (*ball*) ' place ' occurs in *Ballangleich, Ballanmahon; caer* ' castle ' in *Caercolon, Caerleon* ' castle of the legion ' ; *dun* ' a protected place ' in *Dunbar, Dumbarton, Dundee; inch* ' island ' in *Inchcape, Inchcolon; inver* ' mouth of river ' in *Inverary, Inverness; kill* ' church ' in *Kildare, Kilkenny, Kilmarnock; llan* ' sacred, holy ' in *Llandaff, Llanfair.* Names of rivers, as *Avon, Usk* (*Ux*), and names of mountains, as *Pen, Ben,* are also common.

164. Besides the Celtic names of places, there were also in Old English a few Celtic words of more common usage. Some of these are *bannock; brat* 'mantle, rag,' later ' child in rags'; *brock* 'badger'; *down* 'hill'; *dun* (colour); *mattock*. Some common Celtic words do not appear in Old English literature, but are known in the Middle English period, as *bodkin* and *clan*. In the time of Shakespeare are found *bog, brogue, gallow-glass, glib* sb., *kerne, shamrock*, all from the Irish. A few Celtic words have come from the Scotch Gaelic, as *cairn, claymore, coronach, crag, glen, pibroch, slogan, whiskey*, some of which are literary words only, and do not occur except in the language of books. Some Celtic words have also been borrowed from the Welsh, but the list of these is small and still uncertain.

165. With the Celtic borrowings came also a few Latin words which had remained among the Celts after the Roman occupation of Britain. Some of these are place names, as *Lancaster, Doncaster, Chester, Winchester, Rochester, Leicester, Gloucester*, all containing the Latin word *castra* ' camp,' although much obscured by various phonetic changes. Others are common words such as *lake, mount, port, street, wall, wick, wine*. In addition to these, there are one or two words of Latin origin which can be best accounted for by supposing that English has borrowed forms from Celtic, rather than directly from Latin. Such are *alms* and *Christ*.

166. The most considerable Latin influence on the vocabulary of Old English, was due to that contact with the Latin race which began when the English accepted Christianity, just at the end of the sixth century. The story, as Bede

tells it, is too well known to need repetition : how Gregory
the priest saw the fair-haired Angles in the Roman slave
market ; how years afterwards the same Gregory, then Pope,
sent Augustine to England with a band of missionaries ; and
how the English gave up their gods for the new worship.
This adoption of a new religion not only brought immediate
contact with Latin Christianity and Latin Christian litera-
ture, but also direct intercourse with the continental peoples.
As a natural result, many ecclesiastical terms were intro-
duced into English, while many words not belonging to the
church also became common in everyday life. Besides,
owing to the introduction of Christianity and the influence
of Latin literature, Latin became the language of scholars,
and, on this account, Latin words were continually entering
English throughout the Old English period.

167. Some of the Latin words which early entered the
language are as follows. They are arranged in certain
general classes according to their general character.

1. Church words : *alb, altar, archbishop, bishop, candle,
church, cowl, creed, deacon, devil, font, martyr, mass, min-
ster, monk, noon, nun, organ, pall, pasch, pope, priest, psalm,
shrine, temple.*

2. Trees and plants : *beet, box, chervil, fennel, feverfew,
gladen* ' sword grass,' *lily, mallow, mint, mul-*(berry), *palm,
pea, pear, pepper, periwinkle* (OE. *perwinca*), *pine, plant,
plum, poppy, savine, spelt.*

3. Animal names : *capon, doe, lobster, mussel, pea-*(cock),
phœnix, trout, turtle-(dove).

4. Miscellaneous : *butter, canker, cap, cheese, chest, cook,
coop* (?), *copper, cup, dish, fan, fever, fiddle, fork, imp, inch,*

kiln, kitchen, linen, mat, mill, mortar, must ' wine,' *pan, pilch,*
pile, pillow, pin, pit, pitch, plaster, pole, port, punt, sack,
shambles, sickle, silk, sock, sole, strap (*strop*), *tile, tippet, tun,*
tunic.

5. Besides the above nouns there were also introduced
the verbs *dight* ' prepared,' *offer, shrive, spend, stop,* and the
adjectives *crisp* and *short.*

168. Among the words introduced into Old English from
Latin are some which had been borrowed by the Romans
themselves. Most of these were originally from Greek, or
had come through Greek. Of Greek origin, for example,
are many church words, as *bishop, canon, church, deacon,*
devil, martyr, minster, monk, priest, psalm, and others.
Pasch and *sack* are originally from Hebrew, and a few others
might be traced to other sources. These last were first
adopted into Greek, then became Latin, and finally English.

169. Another foreign influence of the Old English period
was due to the incursions of the Danes and their subsequent
conquest of England, § 58. Owing to this conquest, a
considerable number of Norse or Scandinavian words be-
came a part of the English language. Yet, although the
Norse influence began in Old English times, few Norse
words appear in literature before the Middle English period.
Some of the earliest found in English writings occur in the
Saxon Chronicle, § 86. Examples are *call, crave, fellow,*
haven, husband, hustings, knife, law, take, wrong. Others,
although most of them do not appear until the Middle
English period, may also be referred to here.

170. Sometimes these Norse words may be distinguished
from those of English origin, owing to striking differences

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in sounds. For example, many common Teutonic words
in English which have an **sk** combination of sounds are of
Norse origin. Examples are *scald, scare, skill, skin, sky,
score, bask, busk.* Such words, if English in origin, would
now have **sh** instead of **sk**. On the other hand, some
French words and a few of Low German origin also have
the sound combination **sk**, as *scape, scan, scarce, skipper.*
Similarly Norse words have **g, k,** as in *gun, kid,* instead of
y, ch, the corresponding English sounds. Examples are
gift, get, guest, drag, egg, flag, hug, leg, log, and *keg, kid, kilt,
kirtle.* Of Norse origin also are many words with **ai, ei,** as
bait, hail ' greet,' *raid, raise, swain, they, their, wail.*

171. Many names of places and of persons are also of
Norse origin. Examples of the first are those with the
suffixes *-by, -thwaite,* as in *Whitby, Grimsby, Langthwaite.*
Such names are especially frequent in the north and east of
England, the region of the old Danelagh. Corresponding
English place names on the other hand end in *-ton, -ham,
-bury,* as *Alton, Horsham, Canterbury.* Norse personal
names have the distinctive suffix *-son,* as in *Johnson, Gibson,
Thomson.* The specifically English suffix having the same
meaning is *-ing,* as in *Hastings, Birmingham.*

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD

172. During the Middle English period the language
continued to be affected by the foreign influences which
had begun to affect it in the older period. For example,
Latin continued to contribute new words to the native
stock. As already noted, § 169, some words from Celtic and

Norse do not actually appear in literature until this period, although borrowings from both had begun in the older time. But the most considerable addition to the English language in the Middle English period was from the French, borrowings from which were due to the Norman conquest, to the Norman literature read and appreciated in England, and to a more or less constant intercourse between the French and English after the coming of the Normans.

173. The earliest French words to appear in literature are those which occur in the later version of the *Saxon Chronicle*, which ends in 1154. Of these some sixteen have been retained to modern times. They are *castle, countess, court, empress, justice, miracle, peace, prison, privilege, procession, rent, standard, tower, treason, treasure, war.* From this time French words in English became more frequent. It is naturally quite impossible to enumerate all or nearly all of these that have remained to the present time. It is only possible to call attention to some of the more striking facts in regard to the French element.

174. It has already been shown, in the chapter on the Middle English period, that French did not displace English during the Norman rule, and that its influence has been greatly exaggerated. This is also proved by the tardiness with which French words began to appear in Middle English writings. Although Edward the Confessor, who was of Norman education and sympathies, came to the throne in 1042, and the conquest itself took place some twenty years later, it is not until 1100 that French words begin to appear in English writings. Nor are they then by any means numerous. For example, the entries in the

Saxon Chronicle during the first half of the twelfth century contain less than twenty French words. Layamon's *Brut*, with its 16,000 long lines, was based on a French poem by Wace. Although there are two texts, one written about 1200 and one about 1250, yet in both the number of French words does not exceed 150. In all Middle English writings before 1250, the number of French words probably does not exceed 500. By the year 1300 some 1000 French words were used in written monuments; while in some thirty-one texts written before 1400, 3400 words of French origin have been discovered. This number, however, includes many that have not been preserved to Modern English, since many French words have held but a temporary place in our English speech.

175. A good test of words borrowed from early and late French is based on differences in vowel and consonant sounds, due to differences between Old and Modern French. These may be exemplified by the following list, in which the first word of each pair represents an early, the second a late, borrowing. In some of these, as feast — fête, suit — suite, the words are etymological doublets; that is, the same word has been introduced in both earlier and later forms.

a.	rage — mirage.	**oi.**	coy — reservoir.
e.	feast — fête.	**ou.**	count — tour.
i.	vine — ravine.	**ui.**	suit — suite.
o.	bonny — chaperon, affront — platoon.		— .
		ch.	chandler — chandelier.
u.	duty — debut.	**g.**	rage — rouge.
au.	cause — hautboy.	**j.**	just — jeu d'esprit.
eau.	beauty — beau.	**qu.**	quit — bouquet.
eu.	grandeur — connoisseur.		

Even this test of sounds does not apply to all words, since some introduced very late have assumed the sounds of earlier borrowings by analogy of written forms. This is true, for example, of **g** and **j** in legislative and cajole. Yet the general accuracy of the test, based on differences in pronunciation, may be relied upon.

176. In a few words, phonetic differences indicate differences in the dialects from which the French words were borrowed. For example, certain words with a **k** sound (written **c**) are doublets of other words with **ch**, and yet both belong to early French borrowings. Here belong caldron — chaldron ; capital — chapter ; cark — charge ; catch — chase ; cattle — chattel ; kennel 'gutter' — channel. The explanation of these doublets is, that the words with the **k** sound are from Northern French, including Normandy, Picardy, and places like Cressy, Calais, Boulogne, well known in English and French history. Those with **ch** are from Central French, including the Angevin kingdoms. The list is small, however, and it would be but slightly increased if certain Middle English words, which have since become obsolete, were added.

177. One class of words introduced by the Normans deserves special mention in connection with early French additions. Attention has already been called to the introduction of Danish surnames. The Normans also helped to establish the use of hereditary surnames in England. It had been the custom of the English to give but one name, to which no indication of parentage or place of residence was added. But the Normans followed the Romance custom of giving to each knight or courtier a second name,

usually from his place of birth ; as, Robert Bruce, William
Percy. Surnames became so much the fashion in England,
that the story is told of how the heiress of Robert Fitz-Hamon
disdained Robert of Caen because he had no *to-name*, and
how King Henry made good this lack by giving the luckless
knight the surname Fitzroy. In addition to surnames, many
given names also came in with the Normans, as some had
done with the Danes.

178. Attempts have been made to arrange words bor-
rowed from early French into certain general classes, accord-
ing as they entered through various channels of thought.
This is possible, at least to a certain extent. Norman devo-
tion to the church brought many church words not hitherto
introduced. Many terms used in reference to government
and courts of law are also of French origin. The same is
true of words applied to war and knighthood, owing to the
Norman introduction of feudalism and chivalry. But it
would be difficult to classify all French words in this way,
since words applicable to all states and conditions of life
were freely introduced. For example, in a list of some 500
French words introduced before 1250, sixty-four belong to
religion and the church, twenty-eight to government and the
courts of law, twelve to war and chivalry. This leaves, how-
ever, almost 400 that cannot easily be classified. The large
proportion belonging to the church is partly accounted for
by the class of writings examined ; but, in any case, the
proportion of words which it would be difficult to classify
would probably still remain unchanged.

179. So far no special effort has been made to separate
Norman French from Parisian French loan-words which

came somewhat later. Both these classes of words have conformed to native words in phonetic changes, in accent, and in development of forms. Parisian French words began to enter English at the last of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth, century. During the fifteenth century they became more numerous, owing especially to the translation of French works by English writers. Many Italian books also came to England through French versions. For example, Lydgate, who died about 1460, translated Boccaccio's *Fall of Princes* and Colonna's *Troy Book*, not from Italian, but from French versions. Later in the century the French translations of Caxton, Malory, Rivers, and others brought a great increase to the French element in our English speech.

180. The influence of Modern French on English has been by no means inconsiderable. During the early sixteenth century the translations from the French are represented especially by the *Froissart* of Lord Berners, while in the Elizabethan time French was drawn upon for many novels and tales. As in Caxton's time, many of the classics, as well as works from the Italian, were also introduced into England through French versions. Later, in the time of Charles I, who married the daughter of Henry IV of France, French manners and customs were imitated in England. All these influences tended to bring in French words.

181. The accession of Charles II, who had long lived at the French court, intensified the French influence of his father's reign. This is exemplified especially in the literature of the seventeenth century. To illustrate, many

words occurring in Dryden belong to this period, and were due to the special French influence following the Restoration. Examples are *adroit, aggressor, antechamber, apartment, bagatelle, brunette, burlesque, cadet, cajole, calash, campaign, cannonade, caprice, caress, chagrin, commandant, complaisant, console, coquette, corps, cravat.* Many such words retain French accentuation, as *bagatelle, barricade, cadet, caprice,* or French pronunciation in other respects, as *ballet, billet-doux, carte blanche, cuirassier.*

182. Since the seventeenth century, French words have been borrowed occasionally as they have been used by great writers, or more frequently through the adoption of scientific and philosophical terms. Many of these retain a sort of French pronunciation, with some modification of vowels due to analogy of English words. It is not easy to estimate the exact relation of the French loan element to the whole number of borrowed words in English, but it is probably fair to say that the largest number of borrowed words from any one source is from French, while Latin words stand next in order of numbers.

THE MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD

183. The new foreign influences affecting Modern English are many, while borrowing from the languages which had already come in contact with English still continued in the modern period. The new influences upon English have resulted from the extension of the British Empire, and the widespread intercourse of the English people with other nations. This latter intercourse has been both direct, as

through commerce and travel, and indirect, as througn literature and science. Some account of these new influences upon English is therefore important to an understanding of the growth of the vocabulary in modern times.

184. Attention has already been called to the borrowed element from French. French, however, is not the only Romance language which has affected English. Some words have also been received from Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. Of these, Italian was the earliest from which borrowed words were adopted. The Italian influence is mainly modern, although during the Middle English period a few Italian words came into English through French. Examples of the latter are *alarm, brigand, ducat, florin, pilgrim*. Besides these, there are certain others which had been borrowed by the Italians from eastern nations with which they were engaged in commerce, as *diaper, fustian, orange, rebeck*. These also came into English through the French language.

185. Direct contact with Italy belongs especially to the sixteenth century. The Italian influence at this time is indicated in many ways. Literature was then under special Italian influence, as shown by the poetry of Wyatt and Surrey. The same influence upon the language is attested by the strong protest of Ascham in his *Schoolmaster* against the 'Englishman Italianated,' and by others in various works. The Italian influence continued through the sixteenth, and part of the seventeenth, century. In the eighteenth century Italian music was introduced into England, and with it came many musical terms. It still remains true, however, that about half the Italian words in English, even

those of modern times, have come to us through French. Some characteristic Italian words borrowed direct from Italy are, *archipelago, balcony, cameo, campanile, catacomb, dilettante, extravaganza.*

186. The Spanish element differs from the Italian both in number of words, there being only about two-thirds as many, and in the way in which it has been received. For there never has been such direct contact with Spanish literature as with Italian, or indeed close contact of any sort. The Spanish element, like the Italian, is mainly modern, although some words of Spanish form, but of Arabic origin, were borrowed in Middle English times. As in the case of Italian, also, some Spanish words have come to us through French. For in Elizabethan times, when Spanish literature came to be known in England, as well as in the following centuries, many Spanish works appeared in French translations. But the largest number of Spanish terms has been introduced through commerce and travel. Some of these are due to intercourse between Spaniards and Englishmen in the Americas, and thus some words from the aboriginal American languages have been adopted in Spanish forms. Examples of words direct from the Spanish are *alcalde* (originally Arabic), *castanets, hidalgo, matador;* articles of merchandise, as *indigo, sassafras, sherry, vanilla;* nautical terms, as *armada, flotilla;* names of animals, as *alligator, armadillo, mosquito.* Words for abstract ideas are few, as *punctilio, peccadillo.*

187. A few words have been borrowed from Portuguese. The number of these has been variously estimated from thirteen to nearly twice as many. Among those that may

be mentioned are *auto-de-fé, banana, binnacle, cobra, cocoa.*
Some Portuguese words in English are originally from India,
Africa, and Brazil, countries settled by the Portuguese, or
with which they have had commercial relations.

188. Among other foreign influences affecting the English
vocabulary is that due to contact with the Low German
languages, especially Dutch, to a less extent Frisian and
Flemish. Although most of the words entering English
from these sources are modern, borrowings from the lan-
guages of the Low Countries may easily have begun as early
as the Middle English period. This view is favoured by the
fact that there were important commercial relations between
the Netherlands and England in early times. It is said that
in the reign of Edgar, who died in 975, there was a league of
German traders in London. In 1260, Henry III granted by
charter equal protection to all German merchants, and as a
result new guilds were soon formed under control of the
great Hanseatic League. At this time, also, all English
wool was exported to Flanders, to be returned again in
woven fabrics, or exchanged on the continent for other im-
portant products. In 1328, Edward III married Philippa
of Hainault, and about the same time invited Flemish weav-
ers to settle in England. The modern borrowings are espe-
cially due to the fact that in the sixteenth century the
Dutch had possession of the carrying trade, and from them
the English learned commerce and navigation.

189. Low German words, as those from Norse, strongly
resemble those of English origin, so that a larger number
may easily be assigned to this particular loan element
than rightly belongs to it. To the Low German element

belong especially two classes of words, those relating to commerce and nautical affairs. The first includes *cannikin, groat, guilder, hogshead, holland, jerkin, link* 'torch,' *linstock, spool, swabber, wagon.* In the second are included *ahoy, aloof, avast, boom, deck, hoist, lash, lighter* 'barge,' *marline, moor* (as a ship), *reef, skipper, sloop, smack* 'fishing boat,' *yacht, yawl.* Examples of common everyday words probably from Low German sources are *boy* and *girl.*

190. The loan material so far mentioned has been wholly from languages belonging to the Indo-European family. Besides, two other branches of the same family have furnished us some loan-words more or less directly. The first of these is the Aryan, § 11, which includes Indian and Iranian. From the first, *pepper, ginger, sugar, sulphur, nard,* were indirectly borrowed before modern times. In modern times, owing to England's relations with India, some words have been adopted from the various dialects of the Indian Empire, as *chintz, indigo, juggernaut, jungle.* From Iranian, English has also received some common words. Some of the earliest are *azure, candy, check, chess, orange, peach.* Others, somewhat later, are *bazaar, borax, caravan, divan.* The second branch of the Indo-European family represented among our borrowed words is the Balto-Slavic. Words from this source are few, however, and are mostly names easily recognized as foreign. Examples are, *Czar, drosky, knout, mazurka, polka, ukase, vampire.*

191. Some words have been borrowed by English from the Semitic languages, and to a less extent from those of Turkey, China, Japan, Africa, and the countries of North and South America. The Semitic element is represented

first by words from Hebrew and Aramaic, the languages of
Palestine in Old and New Testament times.   Such words
were taken either directly from Hebrew and Greek, the lan-
guages of the Old and New Testament, through late trans-
lations, or from the Latin (Vulgate) translation of the
Scriptures.   Examples of Hebrew words are *alleluia, amen,
balsam, cherub, cummin, ephod, gehenna, gopher-*(wood),
Messiah, paschal.   Words of Aramaic origin are *abba, dam-
ask, damson, mammon, targum.*   From the nature of the
case, such words have been coming into English since the
Christianization of Britain.

192. Arabic words also belong to the Semitic element,
and these are more numerous in English than might be sup-
posed.   They have come to us indirectly in most cases,
some through Greek and Italian, others through Spanish
and French.   The earliest Arabic words in the language are
admiral, and *maumet* ' idol,' from *Mahomet.*   Some others,
found in Middle English are *alkali, alkoran, azimuth, elixir,*
and *lemon.*   Many also belong to modern times.   Charac-
teristic Arabic words not already mentioned are *alcohol, alge-
bra, amber, artichoke, bedouin, benzoin, calif, coffee, cotton.*

193. It is impossible to distinguish other Asiatic elements
with great exactness.   Some borrowed words in English are
Turkish, as *bashaw, bey, bosh, caftan, Cossack, dey, janizary,
ottoman, uhlan.*   From Hungary have come *hussar, sabre,
shako.*   Of Tartar origin are *khan, mammoth.*   Malay words
are *amuck, cockatoo, gong, guttapercha, junk.*   From China,
besides the names of country and people, the word *tea* and
the names of various kinds of tea have been borrowed.
From Australia come *boomerang, kangaroo ;* from Polynesia,

taboo and *tattoo* ' to mark the body.' The African element is somewhat larger, and includes such words as *behemoth*, *oasis*, and *gypsy*.

194. The largest of the minor foreign elements is the native American, which includes words from the languages of the aboriginal inhabitants of North and South America. From the North American Indians come *hominy, moccasin, moose, opossum, papoose, pemmican, raccoon, sachem, squaw, toboggan, tomahawk, wampum, wigwam*, besides many place-names. Mexico has furnished us *cacao, chocolate, copal, coyote, jalap, tomato ;* the West Indies, *barbecue, canoe, hurricane, maize, potato*. From South America have come *alpaca, caoutchouc, condor, guano, ipecacuanha, jaguar, pampas, quinine, tapioca, tapir*. Some of these have been introduced directly, especially names of animals or articles of merchandise, while others have come to us from other modern languages.

195. With borrowed words from so many diverse sources, it might seem that English is at best a hodgepodge of many languages. But this is far from true. It is only when examining the various sources from which words have come into English, that the vocabulary seems a hodgepodge in any sense. As actually used in speaking and writing, it is as homogeneous as if all words had come from a single source. How and why this is so will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

RELATION OF THE BORROWED AND NATIVE ELEMENTS

196. Although the English vocabulary consists of two apparently diverse elements, the native and the borrowed, each is equally important for English expression. Most borrowed words have become thoroughly incorporated into the language, and are as much a part of present English as the words which were brought from the continent by our Teutonic forefathers. This is true, because from the standpoint of language one word is as good as another, if it is in equally good use for the idea intended.

197. It is true that another conception of the borrowed element has been not uncommon. Although foreign words were early adopted with the avowed purpose of enriching the native speech, § 94, the purists of the Elizabethan and the following ages opposed borrowing as tending to 'corrupt' the language. In the nineteenth century also, not a few have bewailed the 'corruption' of English, by reason of the large proportion of borrowed words. Such critics have seemed to think that there was some peculiar charm in a word of English origin. Some of the purists have even wished to exclude all words from foreign sources, and so bring a return of the original Teutonic character of the English tongue.

198. Such views, however, rest on a wrong conception of the nature of language. Words get their standing and importance wholly from usage. The word newly coined from the native stock, and the word newly borrowed from a foreign source, acquire their value in the same way. When either becomes established in usage, it is an integral part of the language. The only advantage which arises from a word of native coinage is that it may be more easily understood and more generally accepted. So far, the use of the native word stock is to be preferred to borrowing a foreign word, or employing one which has not yet been sanctioned by established usage. On the other hand, if a borrowed word is once thoroughly established, it is to be preferred to a newly coined native word.

199. In only one important respect may the native element be said to have a certain advantage over the element borrowed from other languages. There can be little question that the native element bears a definite relation to simplicity and force of expression. This is true not because of any inherent qualities in native words, but because, by the accidents of our language history, the native words have been reduced to simpler forms. For this reason the larger the proportion of native words in a given author, the larger the proportion of short, simple, strong words, and the more concise, clear, and forcible the style. But in making such a comparison, only writings of similar character can be compared. The scientist and the philosopher must necessarily use a somewhat different vocabulary from that of the poet and the essayist.

200. Too much, however, must not be made of this

apparent difference between the two elements. Most early borrowings have become thoroughly assimilated to English, and hence are now as short and simple as native words. This will be seen by examining the number of common, monosyllabic words derived from early French. Examples falling under the first three letters of the alphabet are *ache, age, air, arm* ' firearm,' *art, aunt, bail, balm, bar, base, beak, beast, beef, blame, boil, brace, branch, bray, breeze, brief, brush, cage, calm, cape, car, case, catch, cause, cease, cell, chain, chair, chance, change, chant, charge, chase, chaste, cheer, chief, choice, choir, claim, clause, clear, cloak, close, coast, coil, corpse, cost, course, court, coy, crest, cross, cry, cull.* All these are an integral part of the language, as truly as words originally Teutonic.

201. The thorough incorporation into the language of most borrowed words may be illustrated in many ways. Such words, for example, have usually been anglicized, that is, have been so modified as to conform to the sounds, accent, and inflections of English. After such anglicizing in whatever period, borrowed words have been affected by the phonetic and other changes affecting native words. For example, early borrowed words in Old English suffered mutation, § 250, perhaps the most considerable change that has affected the vowel sounds of stressed syllables. This accounts for English *mint, kitchen, pit, inch,* compared with Latin *moneta, coquina, puteus, uncia,* the words from which they are derived. Early borrowings have also assumed the English accent, and all but a few words from foreign sources have taken the native inflection.

202. In common with native words, those adopted from

I

other languages have suffered other phonetic changes. For instance, borrowed words have developed double forms in some cases. Examples are *adventure — venture*, *appeal — peal*, *attend — tend* 'care for,' *avow — vow*, *engine — gin*, *escape — scape*. Similar double forms among native words have been mentioned in § 146.

203. The thorough assimilation of borrowed words is also shown by their entering into compounds after the manner of native words. Such compounds, called hybrids, are of two sorts, — those formed by a union with native words, and those with native prefixes and suffixes. Compounds of independent words are illustrated by *black-guard*, *life-guard*, *salt-cellar*, in which the first part is English and the second French ; and by *eyelet-hole*, *heir-loom*, *hobby-horse*, *scape-goat*, in which the first is French and the second English. There are also hybrids made up of two borrowed words. Thus *bandy-legged* is French and Scandinavian, as is also *partake* for **part-take ; *juxta-position* is Latin and French, *interloper* Latin and Dutch, and *marigold* Hebrew and English.

204. Compounds of foreign words with native prefixes are illustrated by *around*, *because*, in which the prefix is English and the rest of the word French. Other hybrids of similar composition are *fore-front*, *out-cry*, *over-power*, *un-able*. More numerous are the words in which an English suffix has been added to a French noun or adjective, and the custom of making such compounds still continues to some extent. Examples of familiar words of this sort are *aim-less*, *duke-dom*, *false-hood*, *court-ship*, *plenti-ful*, *dainti-ness*, *trouble-some*, *genial-ly*.

205. Furthermore, many borrowed prefixes and suffixes not only occur in foreign derived words, but have also been used in forming new compounds in English. Some examples of borrowed prefixes thus used are *ante-, anti-, bi-, dis-, ex-, inter-, non-, re-, semi-, sub-, super-, trans-, ultra-,* as in *anteroom, anti-American, bicycle, dislike, ex-sheriff, intertwist, nonconductor, renew, semiweekly, subway, supercharge, transform, ultra-clerical.* As the examples show, the prefix of foreign origin has sometimes united with a borrowed, sometimes with a native, word.

206. The borrowed suffixes used in the same way are still more numerous. Some of those forming new nouns are *-age, -ard, -ess, -ist, -ism, -let, -ment,* and *-ry,* as in *tillage, drunkard, murderess, nihilist, patriotism, brooklet, fulfilment, outlawry.* Examples of borrowed suffixes used in forming adjectives are *-an, -ate, -ble, -ese, -esque, -ic, -ide,* as in *Elizabethan, nitrate, eatable, Johnsonese, Dantesque, Celtic, bromide.* The most common borrowed suffixes used in forming verbs are *-fy, -ize,* as in *purify, galvanize.* Even these examples do not include all the prefixes and suffixes from foreign sources, and none of those which, though found in borrowed words, are not used in forming new compounds.

207. Attention has already been called to homonyms of English origin, § 151. Sometimes a borrowed word has come to have the same phonetic form as a native one, and sometimes two or more homonyms have been borrowed. Of the first sort are English *angle* 'fishing hook' and French *angle* 'corner'; English *arm* 'part of body' and French *arm,* as in 'firearm'; English *bank* 'mound of

earth' and French *bank* 'place for money.' To the second
class of homonyms mentioned belong *ancient* 'old' and
ancient 'banner.' In one case four homonyms have all
been borrowed, as *bay* 'colour,' *bay* 'an inlet,' *bay* 'laurel
tree,' and *bay* 'to bark as a dog.'

208. The influx of new words at various times and from
various sources has produced one result not so true of any
other language as of English. The same word etymologi-
cally has been introduced in two, sometimes three different
forms, as it has come at different times or through different
channels. Thus *caitiff*, *conceit*, *corpse*, *frail*, are doublets of
captive, *conception*, *corps*, *fragile*. Doublets that are ulti-
mately Greek in origin are *diamond — adamant, fancy —
phantasy, priest — presbyter*, while *balm — balsam* are ulti-
mately Hebrew. In such cases the shorter form, or that
which has evidently suffered the greater number of phonetic
changes, is usually the older of the two.

209. Sometimes a word of Teutonic origin has come to
English from a foreign language into which it had been
adopted. Thus *guard* is the French form of an original
Teutonic word which appears in English *ward*. In *wage —
gage, warrant — guarantee*, French doublets have been bor-
rowed, while their original Teutonic roots also appear in
English *wed — ware*. Occasionally a word has been intro-
duced in three different forms, as *real* (used by Chaucer),
royal, and *regal*. Another etymological triplet is found in
leal ('land o' the leal'), *loyal*, and *legal*. A few words
appear in four forms. For example, Latin *discus* has given
us, directly or indirectly, *dish*, *desk*, *dais*, and finally *disc*.

210. Owing to the borrowing of the same word at dif-

ferent times, a later form has frequently displaced an earlier. Latin *angelus* became Old English *engel*, which was later displaced by the French form *angel*. So Old English *fíc* and *sanct*, from Latin *ficus* ' fig,' *sanctus* ' holy,' have been replaced by *fig* and *saint*, which are French forms. Old English *cristen* ' christian,' adj. and sb., has been made to conform to Latin *Christianus*, although the verb *christen* remains unchanged except for the Latinized spelling, with *ch* instead of *c*. In many cases the displacement is probable, although not certain. English *abbot, apostle, epistle*, are probably French forms rather than from Old English *abbod*, (*a*)*postol*, (*e*)*pistel*, forms which had been early adopted from Latin.

211. Sometimes the orthography, and even the pronunciation, of early French words in English has been changed by reason of a later borrowing. In this way the older forms *dette* and *doute*, have given place to *debt* and *doubt*. This also accounts for *cord — chord, counter — compter, indite — indict, quire — choir*, which are doublets in spelling. The difference in spelling is due to the fact that French writers, during the sixteenth century, made the orthography of many words conform to that of Latin words from which they were, or were supposed to be, derived. Sometimes the added letters came to be pronounced in English, as in *perfect* and *verdict*, which replaced the older forms *perfit* and *verdit*. The words *adventure, advise, advocate*, likewise supplanted older forms without *d*, except that the older form of the first remains with different meaning, in *venture*, ME. *aventure*. The tendency to use a learned orthography accounts for a few peculiarities in native English words. Thus *rhyme* is written

instead of *rime*, because of supposed connection with *rhythm*,
and *delight* has been made over from French *delit* by sup-
posed connection with English *light*.

212. As to meaning, borrowed words have usually been
those having no equivalents in the language of adoption.
If a borrowed word were synonymous with a native word,
either one of them was soon lost or the two came to be
used in slightly different senses. This may be illustrated
in the case of French and English by the conversation of
Wamba and Gurth in Scott's *Ivanhoe*. The jester there
tells how English *swine* became *pork* on the table of the
Norman, how *ox* became *beef; calf, veal;* and he might have
added how *sheep* became *mutton*. Many other examples
illustrate a similar differentiation in use, as English *stool*,
French *chair;* English *board*, French *table*. In the case of
board, the original meaning remains in such expressions as
'the frugal *board*,' 'bed and *board*,' while in *side-board* it
has considerably changed from the simple *side-table* of a
former time.

213. Careful examination of many words also shows that
there has been actual change in usage, even when the two
words seem to be practically synonymous. Note, for in-
stance, the slight difference in usage between *begin* and *com-
mence, limb* and *member, luck* and *fortune, bloom* and *flower*,
bough and *branch, buy* and *purchase, mild* and *gentle, work*
and *labour, wretched* and *miserable*. To illustrate, the ex-
pression 'in bloom' is equivalent to 'in flower,' but one
does not speak of *blooms* for *flowers*. So, in addition to
the ordinary usage of the word, one may say 'a *limb* of the
law,' but not 'a *limb* of the university.'

214. In respect to numerical relation of the borrowed and native elements, different results may be obtained according to the method employed in making the estimate. If the borrowed element be computed from the dictionaries, it will be found to be far in excess of the number of native words. By such a computation each native or borrowed word counts but once ; while many native words, especially compounds, are not given a separate place by the lexicographer, and hence are not usually counted at all. By the ordinary estimate from the dictionary, the native element is found to contain only about one-fourth of the whole number of words in the language. This might perhaps be increased to one-third, if all native compounds were counted.

215. If, however, computations are made of the native and foreign elements in actual use, each word of either class being counted wherever and whenever it occurs, the native element will certainly be far in excess of the borrowed in every English writer. According to such a computation the borrowed element is seldom more than thirty per cent, while it is often much less, as may be seen from the following table : —

Authors	Native Per Cent	Foreign Per Cent	Authors	Native Per Cent	Foreign Per Cent
Spenser	86	14	Pope	80	20
Shakespeare	90	10	Johnson	72	28
Bible (Three			Hume	73	27
Gospels)	94	6	Gibbon	70	30
Milton	81	19	Macaulay (Essay		
Addison	82	18	on Bacon)	75	25
Swift	75	25	Tennyson	88	12

216. Some idea of the relations of the two elements in
actual use may be gained from the following selections, in
which the borrowed words are italicized. For closer compari-
son poets and prose writers are separated from each other.
Inflectional endings, as *-s* of noun plurals, *-s*, *-ed*, and *-ing*
of verbs, all belong to the native element, and are therefore
not printed in italics. The same is true of some derivative
prefixes and suffixes. In making these selections the aim
has been to include as nearly as possible one hundred words
of connected English prose or verse, so that the exact pro-
portion of native and borrowed words may be more easily
seen. No attempt has been made to select passages which
should show an unusual proportion of native words.

SHAKESPEARE

"I, thus *neglect*ing worldly ends, all *dedicat*ed
    To *close*ness and the bettering of my mind
    With that which, but by being so *retir*ed,
    O'er *priz*ed all *popular rate*, in my *false* brother
    Awaked an evil *nature;* and my *trust*,
    Like a good *parent*, did beget of him
    A *false*hood in its *contrar*y as great
    As my *trust* was; which had indeed no *limit*,
    A *confidence sans* bound. He being thus lorded,
    But what my *power* might else *exact*, like one
    Who having into truth by telling of it
    Made such a sinner of his *memory*,
    To *credit* his own lie, he did believe
    He was indeed the *duke*."

Tempest, I, ii, 89–103.

MILTON

"O *Prince*, O *chief* of many *thron*ed *power*s,
    That led the *embattl*ed *seraphim* to *war*

Under thy *conduct*, and, in dreadful deeds
Fearless, *endanger*ed heaven's *perpetual* king,
And put to *proof* his high *suprem*acy,
Whether upheld by strength, or *chance*, or *fate;*
Too well I see and rue the *dire event,*
That with sad overthrow and foul *defeat*
Hath lost us heaven and all this mighty *host*
In *horrible destruction* laid thus low,
As far as gods and heavenly *essence*s
Can *perish:* for the mind and *spirit remain*s
Invincible, and *vigour* soon *return*s,
Though all our *glory extinct,* and happy *state*
Here swallowed up in endless *misery.*"

Paradise Lost, I, **128-142.**

POPE

᛭ Not with more *glorie*s in the *ethereal plain,*
    The sun first rises o'er the *purpl*ed *main,*
    Then, *issu*ing forth, the *rival* of his beams
    *Launch*ed on the bosom of the silver'd *Thames.*
    Fair *nymph*s and well-*dress*ed youths around her shone,
    But every eye was *fix*'d on her alone.
    On her white breast a sparkling *cross* she wore
    Which *Jew*s might kiss, and *infidel*s *adore.*
    Her lively looks a *spright*ly mind *disclose,*
    Quick as her eyes and as *unfix*ed as those:
    *Favour*s to none, to all she smiles *extend*s ;
    Oft she *reject*s but never once *offend*s.
    Bright as the sun, her eyes the *gaz*ers strike
    And like the sun they shine on all alike."

The Rape of the Lock, Canto II, **1-14.**

WORDSWORTH

" For I have learned
To look on *nature,* not as in the *hour*
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
The still, sad *music* of *humanity,*
Nor harsh nor grating, though of *ample power*

To *chast*en an*l subdue.* And I have felt
A *presence* that *disturb*s me with the *joy*
Of *elevat*ed thoughts ; a *sense sublime*
Of something far more deeply *interfus*ed,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the *round ocean* and the living *air*,
And the blue *sky*, and in the mind of man ;
A *motion* and a *spirit*, that *impel*s
All thinking things, all *object*s of all thoughts
And *roll*s through all things."

                Lines on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye.

TENNYSON

" And slowly answered *Arthur* from the *barge :*
' The old *order chang*eth, yielding *place* to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good *custom* should *corrupt* the world.
Comfort thyself : what *comfort* is in me ?
I have lived my life, and that which I have done
May He within Himself make *pure !* but thou,
If thou shouldst never see my *face* again,
Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by *prayer*
Than this world dreams of.' Wherefore, let thy *voice*
Rise like a *fountain* for me night and day."

                        Morte D'Arthur.

BACON

" ' What is truth ? ' said *jesting Pilate ;* and would not *stay* for an
answer. *Certain*ly there be that *delight* in *giddi*ness ; and *count* it a
bondage to fix a belief ; *affect*ing free-will in thinking as well as in *act*-
ing. And though the *sect* of *philosopher*s of that kind be gone, yet
there *remain certain discours*ing wits which are of the same *veins*,
though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the
*ancient*s. But it is not only the *difficulty* and *labour* which men take in
finding out of truth ; nor again, that when it is found it *impos*eth upon
men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in *favour ;* but a *natural* though
corrupt love of the lie itself." — *Essay on Truth.*

DRYDEN

"It was that *memorable* day in the first summer of the late war, when our *navy engag*ed the *Dutch;* a day wherein the two most mighty and best *appoint*ed fleets which any *age* had ever seen, *disput*ed the *command* of the greater half of the *globe*, the *commerce* of *nation*s, and the *riches* of the *universe:* while these *vast* floating bodies, on either side, *mov*ed against each other in *parallel* lines, and our countrymen, under the happy *conduct* of his *royal* highness, went breaking by little and little into the *rank* of the *enemie*s *;* the *noise* of the *cannon* from both *navie*s reached our ears about the *city,* so that all men being *alarm*ed with it, and in a dreadful *suspense* of the *event* which they knew was then *decid*ing, everyone went following the *sound* as his *fancy* led him." — *Essay of Dramatic Poesie.*

SWIFT

"In these books is wonderfully *instill*ed and *preserv*ed the *spirit* of each *warrior*, while he is alive; and after his death his soul *transmigrate*s there to *inform* them. This at least is the more *common opinion ;* but I believe it is with *librarie*s as with other *cemeterie*s; where some *philosopher*s *affirm*, that a *certain spirit,* which they call *brutum hominis,* hovers over the *monument,* till the body is *corrupt*ed, and *turn*s to dust, or to worms, but then *vanishe*s or *dissolve*s; so, we may say, a restless *spirit haunt*s over every book till dust or worms have *seiz*ed upon it." — *The Battle of the Books.*

JOHNSON

"Here the sons and daughters of *Abyssinia* lived only to know the soft *vicissitude*s of *pleasure* and *repose, attend*ed by all that were *skil*ful to *delight,* and *gratifi*ed with whatever the *sense* can *enjoy.* They *wander*ed in *garden*s of *fragrance,* and slept in the *fortresse*s of *security.* Every art was *practis*ed to make them *pleas*ed with their own *condition.* The *sage*s who *instruct*ed them, told them of nothing but the *miserie*s of *public* life, and *describ*ed all beyond the *mountain*s as *region*s of *calamity,* where *discord* was always *rag*ing, and where man *prey*ed upon man." — *Rasselas.*

De Quincey

" The *silence* was more *profound* than that of midnight : and to me the *silence* of a summer morning is more *touch*ing than all other *silence*, be*cause*, the light being broad and strong as that of *noon*day at other *season*s of the year, it seems to *differ* from *perfect* day *chief*ly be*cause* man is not yet abroad, and thus the *peace* of *nature* and of the *innocent creature*s of God, seems to be *secure* and deep only so long as the *presence* of man, and his un*quiet spirit*, are not there to *trouble* its *sanctity*." — *Confessions of an Opium Eater*.

Macaulay

" Johnson *decid*ed *literary question*s like a lawyer, not like a *legislator*. He never *examin*ed *foundation*s where a *point* was already *rul*ed. His whole *code* of *criticism* rested on *pure assumption*, for which he sometimes quoted a *precedent* or an *authority*, but *rare*ly *trouble*d himself to give a *reason* drawn from the *nature* of things. He took it for *grant*ed that the kind of *poetry* which *flourish*ed in his own time, which he had been *accustom*ed to hear *prais*ed from his childhood, and which he had himself written with *success*, was the best kind of *poetry*. In his *biographical* work he has *repeat*edly laid it down as an un*deniable proposition* that *dur*ing the latter *part* of the seventeenth *century*, and the earlier *part* of the eighteenth, English *poetry* had been in a *constant progress* of *improvement*." — *Essay on Boswell's Johnson*.

IV

CHANGES IN THE FORMS OF WORDS

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CHAPTER IX

PHONETIC CHANGES

217. It is impossible in the space of this book to attempt a history of all changes which have affected English words. It is important, however, to give some idea of the influences which have modified their forms and account for their apparent instability. For it is a patent fact, as shown by many of the examples so far quoted, that English words have changed in no inconsiderable degree during the centuries of English history. An attempt will therefore be made to mark the relations of the most important influences which must be taken into account in tracing the life history of words.

218. The principal influences which affect words in any language are two, — phonetic change and analogy. The first, as the name suggests, applies to all changes in individual sounds. An example of a phonetic change may be seen in *hām — home*, the two forms of the same word in Old and Modern English. While the consonants of these two forms have remained the same, the vowel which was once like *a* in

father has become like *o* in *no*. The second influence, called false analogy by some, applies to those changes in words as distinct from individual sounds, which make them conform to other words. An example of change by analogy is the substitution of the regular forms *older — oldest* for the irregular forms *elder — eldest*. Another is the addition of the adverbial ending *-ly* in *certainly*, in order to make this borrowed word conform to native adverbs.

219. The principal condition under which these important influences act upon language, is accent or stress. That is, the stressed and unstressed parts of words are differently affected in all languages. The stressed part of a word, for example, is always affected by fewer changes than the unstressed, although each may be influenced in ways peculiar to itself. Thus MnE. *home* has a different vowel from OE. *hām*, but the vowel quantity is the same in each. On the other hand, the adverbial *-ly* (OE. *līc*, MnE. *like*) once had a long vowel, which has been shortened, and a consonant, which has entirely disappeared. The same is true of changes due to analogy, since the unstressed part of a word is far more likely to be modified in form than that bearing the stress. Moreover, not only is the stress of a word to be considered as a condition of its life history, but also its usual stress in the sentence. For it is found that words which commonly receive little sentence stress are likely to be modified in the same way as unstressed syllables. This has already been exemplified in the case of some words, § 146.

220. Phonetic changes in speech sounds are due to two facts of language, — first, imperfect hearing of the sounds

uttered by others; and, second, imperfect imitation of the sounds heard. Both of these facts of language plainly appear when children are learning to talk. Imperfect imitation is especially noticeable in the formation of certain sounds, as those represented by *th*, *ch*, *l*, and *r*. Imperfect hearing is shown by the fact that the child often uses, for a considerable time, words which have little phonetic likeness to those imitated. The language of children is of course far more imperfect than that of adults. Yet a careful examination of the latter also shows many individual differences. Slight as these are, they are sufficient to account in time for all changes known to have taken place in a particular language, or in languages of the same group or family.

221. In illustrating phonetic changes in English, those affecting vowels and consonants may best be separated. Account must also be taken of stressed and unstressed syllables, although, unless otherwise mentioned, stressed syllables are always intended. In general, the changes affecting consonants are fewer than those affecting vowels, since consonants are more stable than vowels in the history of all languages. Indeed, consonants may rightly be considered the skeleton and framework of words, while vowels are the more easily modified connecting parts. On this account the English consonants will be first treated.

Phonetic Changes in Consonants

222. The general history of English consonants may be summed up in the statement that most of them have remained the same in all periods. This will be clear

from the table of Modern English consonant sounds given below, in which consonants not found in Old English are marked with a star.

| | Continuant. | | | | | Momentary. | |
| | Vowel-like. | | | Spirants. | | Stops. | |
	Semi-Vowels.	Liquids.	Nasals.	Voice.	Breath.	Voice.	Breath.
Labials . . .	w	.	m	v	f	b	p
Dentals . . .			n	th,[1] z	th, s	d	t
Palatals . . .	y	r, l		*zh	*sh		
Gutturals . .			n(g,k)		h	g	k

Besides those in the table above, there are the double consonants **hw** (written **wh**), *ch (= *tsh*), *j (= *dzh*).

223. In the statement that few changes have taken place in English consonants, no account is made of orthography. In fact, as Old English texts are now printed, most of the letters used are those of Modern English. The letters have somewhat different values, however. The main differences are that **f** and **s** were used for both **f — v** and **s — z**, respectively ; **g** was also used for **y**, and **c** for **k**. Besides, the characters **ð** and **þ** are used for **th — th**, and a special character, no longer printed, was formerly used for **w**. Before the close of the Middle English period, the letters of the modern alphabet had all come to be used.

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[1] As in **the**, distinct from **th** as in **thin**.

224. Of the new consonant sounds in Modern English, that represented by **sh** has sprung from the Old English combination **sc**, as in ship, fish, < OE. scip, fisc. The **sh** sounds of native words were increased in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from borrowed words with the combination **sy** (written **si, ti, ce**, etc.), which also became **sh** in sound. Examples are passion, nation, ocean. French words with **sh** (written **ch**) are also found, as charade, chandelier. In a very few words this sound is initial, as in *sugar, sumach, sure, surety*, from forms that may be written **sy**ugar, etc. Toward the last of the seventeenth century the corresponding voice palatal **zh** as in *azure* began to be recognized. This means that at that time the voice palatal had begun to develop out of **z + y**, as **sh** had sprung from **s + y (i)**. Examples occur in *usual, leisure, pleasure, osier*.

225. The double consonant **ch** (= *tsh*) in native words has sprung from OE. **c**, as in chaff, beech, OE. ceaf, bece. The same sound also occurs in many borrowed words, especially those coming from French in Middle English times, as change, chance. Besides, it developed in the eighteenth century from the combination **ty** in such words as *nature, stature*, from forms pronounced as if written natyure, statyure. The corresponding voice sound **j** (*dzh*) has arisen in native words from OE. **cg**, as in hedge, bridge, < OE. hecg, brycg. It also occurs in many borrowed words, as French just, judge, and from words with the combination **dy**, as in *verdure* < verdyure. The latter change belongs to the eighteenth century, as the similar change of **ty** to **ch**, mentioned above. In many cases it has been

K

resisted, as shown by the common pronunciation of *duty*, *immediately*.

226. The new consonant sounds have developed in both stressed and unstressed syllables. Besides, there have also been, in the history of English, certain general consonantal changes such as may occur in the history of any language. These may be arranged under various heads, as voicing and unvoicing, assimilation and dissimilation, addition, vocalization, metathesis, ecthlipsis. Most of these changes may be regarded as due to a tendency of speech, by which all sounds are made to conform, in greater or less degree, to neighbouring sounds. This tendency naturally affects unstressed syllables much more largely than stressed syllables, though it is by no means unknown in the latter.

VOICING AND UNVOICING

227. It will be seen from the table, § 222, that spirants and stops are each of two varieties, distinguished by the terms ' voice ' and ' breath.' By this is meant that, in making each pair, the vocal organs are in exactly the same position, but the voice consonant is made by vibration of the vocal cords, and the breath consonant by breath only. It is not unnatural, therefore, that there should have been some shiftings in the case of each pair to conform to neighbouring sounds. The change from breath to voice consonant has, however, been far more common than the reverse change.

228. As a rule, in the history of English, the spirants of stressed syllables have been stable. That is, the voice sounds have remained voiced, and the breath sounds, aspi-

rate. In the Southern dialect of Middle English, however, **f** and **s** became **v** and **z** initially, § 65. This may be well illustrated from *King Lear*, IV, 6, 240, where Edgar assumes the Southern speech to conceal his identity. In the few lines, so, sir, swaggered, appear as zo, zir, zwaggered, and folk, further, fortnight, as volk, vurther, vortnight. From this Southern dialect standard English has borrowed a few words, as vane, vat, vixen (OE. fana, fæt, fyxen 'female fox'). With few exceptions, however, every word in English with initial **v** or **z** is of foreign origin.

229. In unstressed syllables or words the shifting of breath to voice spirants has sometimes occurred. This accounts for the difference in pronunciation between *off* and *of*, the latter being usually unstressed in the sentence. Lack of stress also accounts for the voice spirant **th** in with, and initially in such words as the, then, thus, etc. Shifting of **s** to **z** has occurred in plurals, as hoes, odds, and in verbs, as goes, shades. In all these cases the **s** was originally in an unstressed syllable. Shifting of **s** in unstressed words has occurred in as, his, is, was, compared with such words as loss, toss. Shifting of **ch,** the last element of which is a spirant, appears in knowledge < ME. knowleche, and ajar < ME. on char 'on the turn,' as of a door.

230. The voicing of breath stops has occurred in few words. Voicing of **p, t,** to **b, d,** may be illustrated by the following words, the first of which is the Modern, the second the Old English form.

lobster < loppestre   proud < prut
cobweb < cop(web) 'spider'   pride < pryte
pebble < papol   clod < clote 'clot'

In the latter case, the form clot shows the original t still preserved. Voicing is also illustrated by such double forms as dribble — drip, hobble — hop. It is doubtful whether the voicing of k to g has occurred in native words. It seems to occur in flagon, sugar < French flacon, sucre, and in trigger (earlier tricker) < Dutch trekker.

231. The less common unvoicing of spirants is illustrated by the f, s, in bereft, lost, compared with bereave, lose. Unvoicing of b, d, has also occasionally occurred in stressed syllables, as in unkempt < ME. unkembed 'uncombed,' in gossip < godsib 'related in God,' in tilt < OE. teldan, and in cuttle(fish) < OE. cudele. Final d has also become t in a small class of English verbs, § 413.

Assimilation and Dissimilation

232. Sometimes a consonant has conformed more or less completely to the character of another with which it has been brought into contact. For example, assimilation of the labial nasal m to the dental nasal n, before a dental consonant, has occurred in ant < OE. æm(e)te, and in Hants < Hamptonshire. The reverse change appears in hemp < OE. hen(e)p, in which n has become m to conform to the labial p. These are examples of partial assimilation. Complete assimilation of f has taken place in Lammas < OE. hláfmæsse, leman < léofman, women < wīfmen. A similar change of d may be seen in gossip < ME. godsib, and of th in Suffolk < Southfolk.

233. Dissimilation is the reverse of assimilation. When near a like sound, a consonant is sometimes changed to avoid unpleasant repetition. This change is illustrated by

marble < ME. marbre, purple < purpre, in which **r** has become **l** to avoid the combinations **rbr, rpr.**

ADDITION OR EXCRESCENCE

234. Sometimes a consonant sound not originally belonging to the word is added between two other consonants or after another final consonant. This is no doubt due to what may be called ease of pronunciation, or sometimes to analogy. Addition of the stops **p—b, t—d,** has been the most common in English. Examples of excrescent **p** are empty < OE. æmtig, sempstress < sēam(e)stre, glimpse < ME. glimsen. Excrescent **b** occurs in embers < ME. em-(e)res, bramble < ME. bramel, limb < OE. lim. Addition of **t** is seen in behest < OE. behǣs, earnest < ME. ernes ; also in against, amidst, betwixt, whilst, from older forms ending in **s.** Excrescent **d** occurs in sound < ME. soun, bound ' prepared ' < ME. boun, as also in dwindle, gander, kindred, spindle, thunder.

235. Addition due to a wrong division of two words occurs in newt < ME. an efete, nickname < ME. an eke-name, by transfer of the final **n** in the preceding word. Similar are the Shakespearean nuncle, nawl, for uncle, awl. Orthographic, rather than phonetic, addition occurs in island < ME. īland, and in could < ME. coude. In such cases the added consonant was never pronounced.

VOCALIZATION

236. Consonants sometimes shade out into vowels, so that they lose consonantal quality entirely. This change most commonly affects consonant sounds which are most

like vowels, as semi-vowels, liquids, nasals, and voice spirants. For example, w has become vocalized in swallow < OE. swalwe, as also in two, who, ooze < woose. So y (< OE. ge-) became regularly vocalized in Middle English, although it is still preserved as a vowel in enough < OE. genōh. The liquid l has been vocalized in such words as talk, calm, half, and r also, except before a vowel, in London English as well as in some parts of America. The OE. voice spirant f (= v) has become vocalized since OE. times in head < heafod, lord < hlāford (*hlāfweard ' loaf-guard'). Even when consonants do not become fully vocalized they may become vocalic, that is, they may assume some of the powers of a vowel. This applies especially to the liquids l, r, and the nasals m, n, which may make syllables without the intervention of a vowel, as in apple (apl), timber (timbr), fathom (fathm), even (evn).

METATHESIS, ECTHLIPSIS, SUBSTITUTION

237. By metathesis is meant change of a consonant from one position to another within the word. One of the most common consonants to suffer metathesis is r. Examples are bird < OE. brid, fresh < fersc, grass < gærs. By the same change ps has often become sp, as in wasp < OE. wæps, hasp < OE. hæpse, clasp < ME. clapsen. Dialectal ax beside the normal ask shows change of sk to ks (x).

238. Ecthlipsis is the loss of a consonant. Most examples usually called ecthlipsis are really vocalization, § 236. Examples of real ecthlipsis are words showing loss of initial n by reason of the wrong division of a group made up of the article *an* and a following noun. The words *adder*,

auger, should have initial n, since they are derived from nǣdre, nafe-gār. Such a word as ope < open lost its final **n** by analogy of Middle English words with an inflectional **en** ending. Another example of the latter sort is *mistletoe*, which should be mistleton.

239. Sometimes one consonant takes the place of another with no apparent phonetic reason, although no doubt some phonetic reason will be found in the future. Examples in which **f** has been substituted for an original spirant **h(g)** are laugh, tough, cough, rough. Substitution of **d** for **th** has occurred in fiddle < OE. fiðele, murder < morðer, rudder < rōðer. Substitution of **th** for **t**, owing to a misunderstanding of the written form, appears in such words as authority < OF. autorite, authorite (**th = t**). The substitution has never taken place in Thomas, Thames, in which **th** is still pronounced **t.**

CHAPTER X

PHONETIC CHANGES IN VOWELS

240. It has been shown that the consonants have in general been preserved through all periods of English, although there have been occasional changes of most of them. The reverse is true of the English vowels in the course of their history. In the majority of words in which it occurs no long vowel, or diphthong, has retained the same quality as in the oldest time. Most of them also have passed through several changes in the course of their history. Besides, most of the short vowels have also changed quality at least once since English began to be spoken in Britain. Finally, while consonants are in the main stable in the various dialects of English, considerable dialectal differences occur in the case of the vowels.

241. The only Old English vowels that have remained the same, or practically so, in all periods are short i and e. Short o has remained much the same in British English, but in the English of Scotland and the United States it has generally become short a, as in artistic. In some words short u, as in full, also has the same sound as in the oldest period, although the spelling has sometimes changed. Examples are full, wolf, wood, wool. In the majority of words, however, Old English u has become a very different sound, that of the vowel in *but*. Again, the vowel of such

words as *hat* is the same now as in the oldest period, but
it has not been the same in all the intervening time.

242. The history of all the changes in quality which
vowels have undergone belongs to more elaborate treatises.
Some idea of them may be gained from the following table,
which represents the most common sources of Modern
English vowels, with some examples : —

THE LONG VOWELS

ā . . .	OE. ea, ME. a + r, or r + cons.	are, arm.
	OE. ME. e + r, or r + cons. (sometimes)	star, carve.
ǣ . . .	OE. ME. a or ǣ + r ˙	hare, there.
	OE. æ(a), ME. a + f, th, s (sometimes)	calf, bath, fast.
ē (ēy) .	OE. æ, e + g(h), ME. ai, ei	day, way.
	OE. a, ME. ā	name, same.
ī (īy) .	OE. ę̄ (WS. ǣ), ēa, ME. ę̄	heat, leaf.
	OE. ē, ēo, ME. ē	feel, thief.
ǭ (law) .	OE. a + w, g(h), ME. au	haw, draw.
	OE. ǭ + w, g(h), ME. ǫu	bought, thought.
ō (ōu) .	OE. ā (āw), ME. ǭ	home, blow.
	OE. ō + w, g(h), ME. ou	grow, (rain)bow.
ū (ūw) .	OE. ME. ō	doom.

THE SHORT VOWELS

a . . .	OE. ME. o, especially in America	not, lot.
æ (man)	OE. æ, ea, a(ǫ), ME. a	hat, man.
ə (her) .	OE. ME. e, i, o, u + r, or r + cons.	her, bird, word, spur.
ɐ (but) .	OE. ME. u	sun, run.
e . . .	OE. ME. e	helm.
i . . .	OE. i, y, ME. i(y)	sit, pit.
ǫ . . .	OE. ME. o, in London English	not, lot.
u . . .	OE. ME. u after labial consonants	full, pull.

<div align="center">THE DIPHTHONGS</div>

ai	. .	OE. ī, ȳ, ME. ī(ȳ)	while, mice.
au	. .	OE. ME. ū	house.
iū	. .	OE. e + w, ME. eu(iu)	few, new.
oi	. .	ME. oi, § 247	join, choice.

243. The general changes affecting vowels in English have been numerous and various in character. There have been, for example, changes in quality and quantity, and sometimes in both. Phonetic changes have also been different in the case of stressed and unstressed vowels, so that each of these must be considered separately. The phonetic changes in English which apply to large classes of words will be discussed in the following sections, the reference being to stressed syllables unless otherwise stated.

<div align="center">SHORTENING AND LENGTHENING</div>

244. Long vowels have been frequently and regularly shortened in the history of English. For example, shortening occurred in Middle English before two or more consonants, as slept < OE. slǣpte, kept < cēpte. Long vowels were also shortened before a suffix or word making a second syllable, as wisdom, shepherd, bonfire, compared with wise, sheep, bone. Shortening has also occurred before dental consonants. The following words with short vowels, *red*, *dead*, *blood*, *hot*, *wet*, *fat*, *breath*, *death*, *ten*, *been*, all had long vowels or long diphthongs in Old English. A long vowel has also been shortened in early or late times before final **k**, as in suck, sick, wick, book, look, took.

245. Lengthening also has regularly affected certain short vowels. Short vowels in monosyllables were early lengthened, as in such words as he, me, we, and Scotch weel compared with English well. In Middle English, short vowels were lengthened before a single medial consonant, as in hasel, naked, weasel, in all of which the vowel was originally short. Lengthening also took place before certain consonant combinations, as in old, field, child, find, hound, beard, board, climb. In some of these the Middle English long vowel later became a diphthong. In the middle period of English also, similar lengthenings occurred in words borrowed from French, as change, danger, bounce, ounce, count, amount. Late lengthenings have occurred in such words as all and small.

246. A special kind of lengthening is due to the vocalization of a following consonant. This is called compensatory lengthening. Examples of an early lengthening of this sort are goose, tooth, in which the original short vowel was followed by **n.** Compare German Gans 'goose.' Compensatory lengthening also accounts for a long vowel which later became a diphthong, as in night, light, bright.

Monophthonging and Diphthonging

247. Diphthongs have become monophthongs, or simple vowels, by the loss of one element. For example, *rule* was once pronounced with the diphthong iū instead of the simple vowel u, as at present. Similarly, all Old English diphthongs became monophthongs in Middle English times. Owing to this the Old English diphthong ēo, for instance, has had the same development as the simple vowel ē.

Compare deep < OE. dēop with feet < OE. fēt. On the other hand, simple vowels have also become diphthongs, as in find and found < ME. fīnden, fūnden. Sometimes the second element of a diphthong has developed from a consonant by vocalization, § 236. Thus the Middle English diphthong **ai** sprang from OE. æg, as in dai(y) < OE. dæg. In one of these two ways all Modern English diphthongs came into existence, except **oi,** which occurs only in borrowed words.

PALATALIZATION AND GUTTURALIZATION

248. Speech sounds vary in quality according as they are formed in the front or back of the mouth. Thus among the vowels, **a** (man), **e** (hen), **i** (hit) are front, or palatal, vowels, and **a** (artistic), **o** (hot), **u** (full) are back, or guttural, vowels. The change by which a speech sound comes to be formed farther forward in the mouth is called palatalization, and the reverse process gutturalization. These processes affect consonants as well as vowels, but are much more important in the case of the latter.

249. Both palatalization and gutturalization have been common in the history of English vowel sounds. For example, OE. æ (hat), a front vowel, became **a** (artistic), a back vowel, in Middle English, and has again become a front vowel in the modern period. Besides, a front vowel may suffer palatalization by being formed still farther forward in the mouth. The word *pretty* originally contained the vowel **a** (man), and this later became **e** (hen), and finally **i** (hit) as in the present pronunciation. So also a

guttural vowel may be formed still farther back in the mouth. These two processes account for many changes in the history of English vowels.

MUTATION

250. Both vowels and diphthongs may suffer special changes under some special influences. One of the most important of these in the history of English occurred in Old English times, and is called by the special name mutation. Mutation is the change in quality of a stressed vowel by reason of a following vowel or consonant in the same word. It is, in reality, an attempt to accommodate the quality of a preceding, to that of a following, sound. The most important of the changes due to mutation were produced by a following **i** or **y**, according to the scheme : —

a became **e.**			**ā** became **ē** (WS. **ǣ**).		
o	"	**e** (**y**).	**ō**	"	**ė**.
u	"	**y**.	**ū**	"	**ȳ**.

251. Mutation of the short vowels may be exemplified by many Modern English words. The variation **a** $>$[1] **e** has its simplest representative in man — men, in which the mutated form came to be used as plural only. The same change appears in Frank — French, Wales — Welch, Cant(erbury) — Kent, bank — bench, fall — fell. Other examples of this mutation have already been mentioned in § 139. The mutation **o** $>$ **e** would scarcely be recognized in over — eaves (OE. ofer — efesa), yet these two words are connected

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[1] The sign $>$ is to be read 'to.'

through this vowel variation. The mutation o > y, more exactly an older u > y, appears in gold — gild (OE. gylden), fore — first (OE. fyrst), corn — kernel (OE. cyrnel). Examples of the mutation u > y are full — fill (OE. fyllan), lust — list 'to choose,' a word found in Shakespeare.

252. There are many examples of the results of mutation of long vowels, although later phonetic changes have much obscured the original sounds. The Old English $\bar{a} > \bar{ę}$ ($\bar{æ}$) mutation accounts for the connection of such words as dole — deal, lode — lead, sow — seed, (w)hole — heal. The OE. $\bar{o} > \bar{e}$ mutation explains goose — geese, tooth — teeth, foot — feet, in which the mutated forms are now used as plurals. Other examples are doom — deem, food — feed, grow — green. Mutation of $\bar{u} > \bar{y}$ occurs in mutated plurals as mouse — mice, louse — lice, as well as in such words as foul — (de)file, proud — pride.

Contraction and Substitution

253. By contraction is meant the fusion of two vowels into one. This may occur within a stressed syllable, or a stressed and unstressed syllable may be brought together by contraction, as when a consonant is lost or two words are united in a compound. Contraction has occurred in the development of many English words, as in lord < hláford, § 149 ; friend < fréond (*frijond). Examples of two words united into one by contraction are don < do on, doff < do off. Contraction within a stressed syllable is illustrated by the OE. diphthongs $\bar{e}a$, $\bar{e}o$, which became the simple vowels $\bar{ę}$, $\bar{e}$ in Middle English.

254. Occasional variation in vowels of stressed syllables to which a phonetic cause cannot be so easily assigned may be classed under the general name substitution. Substitution seldom takes place in the case of long vowels, and in short vowels is limited to those which do not differ greatly in pitch, or in position of the vocal organs when producing them. Thus substitution of i for e, e for i or a (*man*), and a (*man*) for e are most common. Examples of the substitution of e for i are pepper < OE. pipor ; chest < OE. cist, cest. Examples of e for a (*man*) are together < OE. to-gædere ; whether < hwæðer, the substitution in these cases being probably due to lack of stress in the sentence. Short i for e is found in willow < OE. welig ; rid < hreddan. An example of a (*man*) for e is thrash (thresh) < ðerscan.

Unstressed Syllables

255. The preceding general vowel changes apply especially to stressed syllables, although shortening and contraction also occur in unstressed syllables in English. In addition to shortening, the vowels of unstressed syllables suffer obscuration in sound, and in many cases ultimate loss. In this way the inflectional endings, which belonged originally to English speech, have gradually disappeared. Other parts of the word, not inflectional, have also been gradually obscured and have finally disappeared, thus accounting for many abbreviated and contracted forms. There are thus certain general vowel changes which are peculiar to unstressed syllables, and account for many changes in words. The most important are weakening, syncope, apheresis, and apocope.

256. WEAKENING. — The obscuration in sound that vowels of unstressed syllables undergo, may be called by the general name weakening. In Old English, unstressed vowels of whatever original quality or quantity had weakened to **a, e, o, u.** In Middle English these were still further weakened to **e.** Since Middle English times the process of weakening has gone on to the total loss of many unstressed vowels, as shown in the following paragraphs, while a new vowel weakening has also resulted. The vowels of unstressed syllables in Modern English have commonly come to have the quality of the vowels in bit or but.

257. One form of vowel weakening is that by which **i, u,** became the semi-vowels **y, w.** The first of these is shown by the development of **y** initially in French or Latin words beginning with **u,** originally the diphthong iū as in *use, union, Utica.* These words are phonetically yuse, yunion, etc., the **y** having come from the unstressed **i** of the original diphthong. The weakening of **u** to **w** is less common. Examples are *one,* phonetically like won, woof < ōwef.

258. SYNCOPE. — Syncope is the loss of a vowel within the word. This has taken place in many inflectional endings in English. For example, the possessive singular and the whole plural of nouns ended in -es in Middle English. The syncopation of **e** in most words has since reduced this -es to -s, the common form of the possessive singular and of the plural. Similar syncopation has taken place in the -ed ending of weak verbs, except those ending in **t** or **d.** In the -en participial ending of strong verbs, **e** has wholly disappeared from the written form in such words as *born, torn, thrown.* Other examples of syncopation affecting the

form of particular words are, adze < adesa ; else < elles ; hence < ME. henes. In Scotch < Scotisc, Welsh < * Welisc, **i** has suffered a similar syncopation.

259. APHERESIS. — By apheresis is meant the loss of an unaccented vowel at the beginning of a word. For example, the OE. prefix **ge-** became **i(y)-** in ME., after which it was regularly dropped by apheresis, except in such archaic forms as **y**-clept ; compare also § 236. There has been a similar apheresis of **e-** in words from Old French beginning with **esc-**. This has given such forms as squire < OF. esquier ; scorn < OF. escorner ; scour < OF. escurer. Other common words illustrating the change are down < ME. adoun ; wayward and lone < awayward, alone. As a result of apheresis double forms occur as alone — lone, adown — down, away — way in native words, escape — scape, account — count, apprentice — prentice among foreign words.

260. APOCOPE. — This term is used for the loss of a final vowel. It therefore applies to the loss of many inflectional endings since Old English times, and full illustration of it naturally belongs to the subject of inflections. Besides, every final **e** of Middle English, whether inflectional or otherwise, has since suffered apocope, although often retained in the written form after long vowels, as in ale, mete, mite, more, mute. Many other examples of apocope might be cited.

VOWELS OF BORROWED WORDS

261. No special attempt has been made to notice the vowels of borrowed words. In general, they have ranged themselves with similar vowels of native words and have

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suffered similar changes. For instance, foreign words entering early Old English were affected by mutation, the greatest change in the vowels of English words within a single period. The same is true of borrowed words in other periods of English. Vowel changes have therefore been illustrated in the preceding sections mainly by native words.

CHAPTER XI

ANALOGY IN ENGLISH

262. The second important influence which affects the forms of words is analogy. This is a tendency of the mind to make a small number of irregular forms like the larger number of regular forms. Analogy may be best illustrated by the language of children, whose analogical tendency is unchecked by any idea of correctness in speech. Thus the child, influenced by the large group of adjectives compared regularly, as *strong — stronger — strongest,* compares *good* in the same way, as *good — gooder — goodest.* So, under the influence of the great majority of nouns forming their plurals in *-s (-es)*, the child says *man — mans, goose — gooses.* The child also uses *draw — drawed, give — gived,* thus making these irregular verbs conform to the larger number of regular verbs. Such forms are called incorrect, yet they result from the same tendency which has affected English of all periods, and to which many important changes are due.

263. Analogy as a force in the development of language depends upon the fact, that the mind takes cognizance of the word in a somewhat different way from that of the individual sounds. The word exists as a separate entity, the sign of a particular idea, and as such enters into various

syntactical relations. Owing to this, words may have thought relations quite impossible to individual sounds, and suffer changes of which the latter are incapable.

264. All words are grouped in the mind according as they have similarity in form or use. For instance, the inflected forms *boy — boy's — boys, — boys', man — man's — men — men's* exemplify inflected groups, the individuals of which are associated together because of like stems. In a similar manner all the forms of a single verb, or of an inflected adjective, as in Latin or German, form similar inflected groups. Other groups on the basis of form are also made, as of all words inflected like *boy—boys*, and all like *man — men.* So all weak[1] verbs, because of similar inflection, form a class by themselves, and all strong verbs another class. The verb also, with its more numerous forms, may present such minor groups as the forms of the present tense, *love — loves,* beside the forms of the past tense, as *loved, swore.*

265. Words are also grouped together as they perform similar functions in the expression of thought. For example, all nouns, all verbs, all adjectives, as expressing objects, actions, and qualities, form separate groups. All nominatives, especially when they have different forms as in English pronouns, may constitute a group separate from all accusatives ; or all plurals ending in -*s* may be classed together. So all past tenses of weak verbs, as distinct from

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[1] The terms weak and strong for verbs are used as more distinctive than such terms as regular and irregular. The weak verbs are those with preterits in $d(t)$ or *ed;* the strong verbs have vowel variation in the preterit, as *sing — sang.*

all present tenses, form a group by themselves. In all these cases the grouping clearly depends on likeness of function or use.

266. Naturally the idea of regularity in a certain class of words is associated with the largest group. Thus the weak verbs in English are thought of as regular, although many of them are of later formation than the strong verbs. Moreover, as regularity is always associated in the mind with the larger group, the analogical tendency is constantly influencing words of the smaller group, and if not restrained would eventually make them all conform to one type. For example, the weak verbs have won over a considerable number of the strong verbs in the history of English. Yet the idea of regularity depends not on numbers alone. A small group, because of the frequency with which its members are used, may attract to itself some words of a larger group. Thus, while the weak verbs have usually influenced the strong, in one or two cases verbs which were weak, as *dig, wear,* have assumed strong forms as *dug, wore.*

267. Analogy has been particularly strong in the history of English. By it many words and classes of words have been modified in form, while many new words have come into existence under its influence. Indeed, this regularizing tendency may be said to characterize the whole Teutonic family, although it is by no means peculiar to one language or to one time. Among the Teutonic languages the analogical tendency has been stronger in Low German than in High German dialects, and English shows, even more than most other Low German tongues, the strength of this important factor in linguistic changes. In discussing analogy in

English its influence will be considered, first in relation to individual words, next as to inflections and syntax.

Analogy affecting Prefixes and Suffixes

268. One of the best examples of analogy in English is the extension of a common suffix to words of which it was not originally a part. For example, the adverbial suffix *-ly* is the common one in Modern English. The form from which it is derived was frequently used in Old English, but there were other adverbial endings almost equally common. Gradually, however, the latter lost their force and the more distinctive ending *-ly* took their place, until it has now almost supplanted every other adverbial form. Even such an adverb as *first* constantly tends to become *firstly*, under the influence of *secondly*, *thirdly*, and others of the series.

269. A suffix may not only be extended in use, but may modify or replace another suffix. The ending *-ing* belonged originally to nouns only, but later displaced the participial suffix *-ende*, as in *fishing, loving*. One of the commonest English suffixes for adjectives is *-y*, as in *holy*. This has replaced the French suffix *-if* in *tardy, jolly* (OF. *tardif, jolif*), and has been added to *contrary* (OF. *contraire*). The same suffix has replaced OE. *-iht* in *thorny < ðorniht*. In a similar way the Old French suffix *-age* has modified the original ending of the words *sausage, cabbage < OF. saucisse, cabus ;* and Old French *-ard*, as in *mustard, bastard*, has modified the suffixes in *gizzard < OF. gezier, custard < OF. croustade, dotard < OF. doter*. Similar modification of a suffix is seen in *righteous* (OE. *rihtwīs*) ' rightwise,' in

which the last part of the word has been influenced by the common ending *-ous*.

270. It is clear from the illustrations so far given that the unaccented part of a word is peculiarly liable to the influence of analogy. This is shown also by the changes that have taken place in English prefixes. The English prefix *a-* is original in *arise, abide, affright,* but has been added by analogy to many words, as *arouse, accurse.* This same *a-* has also modified many unlike prefixes. It represents OE. *of-* in *adown;* OE. *on·* in *away, afoot;* OE. *and-* in *along;* OE. *ge-* in *aware, afford;* OF. *en-* in *anoint;* and the OE. preposition *æt* in *ado, atone.* The prefix *ad-* is a modification of *a-* in *adjudge,* perhaps also in *advance, adventure* < OF. *avance, aventure.* The extended use of foreign prefixes in English, § 205, is also due to analogy.

FOLK-ETYMOLOGY

271. One of the most interesting effects of the analogical influence on individual words is that which is called folk-etymology. This name is applied to the transformation, by the common people, of a word not understood, so that it seems to have some relation to a well-known word or words. For example, *wormwood* has no connection with either *worm* or *wood,* but has been made over from OE. *wermod,* that it may conform to these common words. This form of the analogical influence has produced no inconsiderable changes in the vocabulary of the language, while it is still continually affecting words among uneducated people.

272. A common form of folk-etymology is that by which a new singular has been made from a noun which, though singular, was supposed to be plural because of a final -*s* that was regarded as a plural sign. For example, *riddle, burial,* are from OE. *rædels, birgels,* and originally retained final -*s* in the singular. Later the present forms came into use in speech, the earlier forms being retained only in the plural. Similar are *cherry* (ME. *cheris* < OF. *cherise*), *pea* beside *pease, sherry* < the Elizabethan form *sherris,* derived from the name of the Spanish town *Xeres* ($X = sh$). Besides we have many dialect words with analogical singulars, some of which belong to dialect literature, as *shay* < *chaise ; Chinee* < *Chinese ; Portugee* < *Portuguese.*

273. Words originally singular but ending in -*s* are sometimes regarded as plurals without, however, forming new singulars. Such are *alms. eaves,* which have had a final -*s* since Old English times, and *riches* from OF. *richesse.* In older English, as of the Bible, it was possible to speak of ' an *alms,*' but the syntax of such words shows that they are now plural. No doubt the reason why singulars have not been formed is that each of these words is collective in sense.

274. Part of a word is often transformed by folk-etymology. An example is *bridegroom,* in which OE. *guma* 'man,' has become *groom* by association with *groom* 'an attendant.' *Acorn* has been transformed by analogy of *corn,* for it should be *acern* and connected with *acre. Titmouse,* plural *titmice,* has been influenced by *mouse, mice,* as the original ending -*māse* ' small bird ' had lost its meaning to the folk-mind. Other examples of folk-etymology are *frontispiece* (OF.

fronti-spice), which once had nothing to do with *piece;* *causeway* < OF. *causie*, Fr. *chaussée; penthouse* < OF. *apentis; pickaxe* < OF. *pickois*.

275. In some cases both parts of the word have been transformed, although this is not so common as other forms of folk-etymology. A good example occurs in the dialect word *sparrow-grass* for *asparagus*. English sailors are said to have called the man-of-war *Bellerophon* the *bully-ruffian*. Shakespeare makes Mistress Quickly transform *homicide* into *honey-seed*. Besides, many of the witticisms of Smollett's Winifred Jenkins, Sheridan's Mrs. Malaprop, Hook's Mrs. Ramsbotham, and Shillaber's Mrs. Partington are based on this common tendency in language.

Inflectional Levelling by Analogy

276. In the subdivisions preceding, analogical changes which are due mainly to likeness of form have been considered. Only in the case of the adverbial suffix *-ly* can there be said to be special likeness of function. The changes that occur in inflection and syntax result from a new influence, the likeness of function or use. Under this factor words assume new forms, not so much through general likeness in form to other words of similar character, as through likeness of the function which they perform in the sentence.

277. Analogy in noun inflections has reduced the number of declensions, and the number of case forms. In Old English there were five declensions of nouns, not to speak of certain minor ones. But even in the Old English period

one of these declensions was by far the strongest and attracted to itself words from the others. The same tendency continued through the Middle English period, so that Modern English has in the main but one declension for nouns. To illustrate the change by a specific example, OE. *bōc* 'book' had a plural *bēc*, which should now be **beek* just as the plural of *foot* is *feet*. But by the influence of the larger group of words with plurals ending in *-s*, the analogical form *books* came into use and the older form has disappeared.

278. In a similar way analogy has been an important factor in diminishing the number of case forms in English. The Old English declension which has become the prevailing one in Modern English had three different case forms for both singular and plural. This made six different case forms for each noun. By reason of more frequent use, however, some of these gained upon the others, until the six forms were reduced to two in spoken English, as *boy* — *boys*, although from the last we make two other forms in writing by the use of the apostrophe, as *boy's, boys'*.

279. Analogy has also affected the original inflection of adjectives, as well as comparison, which may be considered a sort of inflectional form. The twofold declension of adjectives, already mentioned as a characteristic of Teutonic in § 35, has been gradually broken down, so that now the adjective has but one form for all genders, cases, and numbers. To a lesser extent analogy has influenced the comparison of adjectives. The adjective *strong*, for example, had in Old and early Modern English the comparative and superlative *strenger, strengest*, by mutation of the positive. But mutation in forms of comparison was not

common even in Old English, and the few examples of it have been brought into harmony with the common form without mutation. An exception might seem to occur in *elder*, *eldest* beside *older*, *oldest*, but in reality the former are simple adjectives, and do not express comparison.

280. The effect of analogy on pronouns has been no less considerable, though the results are somewhat more complicated. In usage pronouns are commonly of two classes, substantives, as the personal and relative pronouns, and adjectives, as the possessives, demonstratives, and indefinites. It is natural, therefore, that substantive pronouns should have followed the analogy of nouns, and adjective pronouns that of adjectives. However, as the accusative [1] of substantive pronouns usually differed from the nominative, a separate accusative is still retained, as in *he — him, she — her, who — whom*. This accusative, too, is usually an older dative, since in Old English the dative of pronouns was more commonly used than the accusative.

281. Adjective pronouns, that is, possessives, demonstratives, and indefinites, are unchangeable in form by analogy of adjectives. Examples are *his, some, any, few*. Most possessives, however, have a different form when used substantively, as *mine, hers, yours*. By analogy of nouns also, the demonstratives *that* and *this* have different plurals, as *those* and *these*. Some indefinites which are frequently used as substantives have assumed the noun inflection. Examples are *one* and *other*. The indefinites *any one*, and

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[1] The names genitive, dative, accusative, are used in this book for the modern speech mainly because they are necessary in referring to the older language.

compounds of *body*, as *somebody*, also have inflected genitive forms, though no plurals.

282. The changes in verbs that have been produced by analogy, are even more numerous than those in nouns and adjectives, no doubt because of the larger number of forms upon which the analogical influence could exert itself. Even in Old English, the weak verbs were far more numerous than the strong verbs. As a natural result there was a constant tendency to make the strong verbs correspond to the weak, and many have assumed weak forms. Verbs entering the language from foreign sources have also been attracted to this larger class, and have almost invariably become weak.

283. Moreover the inflectional forms have been greatly reduced in number since Old English times, so that the weak verb now has but four forms, *love — loves — loved — loving*, such forms as *lovest — lovedst* being obsolete in speech and prose. The strong verb has suffered in another way. Originally it had, in its preterit tense, two forms with different root vowels. These have been reduced to one form in Modern English, so that the four principal parts of the Old English strong verb have become three. This simplification was no doubt aided by the fact that the weak verb had but three forms. Other examples of analogy in verbal inflections belong to the special discussion of the verb, which is reserved for a later chapter.

Syntactical Analogy

284. Analogy may also affect the syntax of a language. Established usage in speech shows certain combinations of words, as subject + predicate, singular subject + singular

verb, transitive verb + object, which form prevailing types in syntax. By analogy of these, combinations which did not originally conform to them have been variously modified. Thus in English, the prepositional phrase *of* + accusative has displaced the genitive in many cases. In a similar way the phrase *to* + accusative has replaced the older indirect object, the dative without a preposition. The Shakespearean " I'll be *friends* with thee " (*2 Hen. IV*, II, 4, 71) seems to have been influenced by such expressions as *we'll be friends*. So also "*These* kind of knaves" (*Lear*, II, 2, 107) has been modified by the expression *these knaves*, and similar uses of *these*. A syntactical combination which seems even now to be establishing itself is that of the adverb between *to* and the infinitive, as *to rightly judge*. Historically this is inaccurate, but under the influence of the emphatic type adverb + verb, the adverb is frequently placed after the sign of the infinitive, sometimes even by good writers.

285. How powerful a factor analogy has been in the history of English may be best appreciated from the chapters on inflections which follow. A sufficient number of examples has been given to show that analogy may be said to be an influence which tends toward making less common forms and expressions conform to the more common usage. Naturally, analogy has been most active in periods when standards of usage were less thoroughly established, as in Middle English before the establishment of the standard language, and in early Modern English, when usage was more various than at present. In later periods, when the

schools and good usage, or correct speech, have become influential, the analogical tendency has been largely kept in check. However, some changes in standard usage are constantly going on under its influence, while it is ever active in dialectal speech.

CHAPTER XII

THE ENGLISH ACCENT

286. As already noted, § 219, accent is an important condition of the forms of words, and of the changes which they undergo. Both phonetic change and analogy may affect stressed elements, yet both are far more powerful in altering the unstressed parts of words and sentences. Besides, accent has already been referred to as a characteristic in which Teutonic differs from most other Indo-European languages. On both of these accounts, therefore, some discussion of accent in English is necessary.

287. The term accent is usually confined to stress upon a particular word or syllable. In the larger sense, however, stress is of two varieties, word-stress and sentence-stress, each of which has important relations in the history of language. Word-stress, or accent in its usual sense, needs no further definition. By sentence-stress is meant that more prominent accent which rests on one or more words of a spoken sentence. The importance of recognizing sentence-stress, as well as word-stress, depends upon the fact that the unstressed words of a sentence, like the unstressed syllables of a word, may undergo special changes.

288. Accent may be of different kinds in respect to quality, as pitch or musical accent, and force or expiratory

accent. Both of these may, and usually do, unite to some extent in each particular language, but one is always more prominent and characteristic. Musical accent belonged, for example, to classical Greek ; expiratory accent is exemplified by classical Latin and Teutonic. Musical accent has various grades, represented by the acute, the grave, and the circumflex. Expiratory accent is also of two varieties, called primary and secondary according to the degree of force employed.

289. As to position, accent is free when it rests on any syllable and moves from one syllable to another in the inflectional forms of the same word ; or fixed, when it rests always on the same syllable of the word. Free accent belonged to Indo-European, and was retained in Greek and the earliest Teutonic. On the other hand, the accent of Teutonic words after the earliest period was a fixed, expiratory stress. Between the two stands the Latin accent, which must rest on one of two syllables in polysyllabic words, but may change from one to the other in inflection, as in *léo — leónis, féci — fecísti.*   English sentence-stress is also an expiratory, or force accent, but, instead of being fixed and conventional like English word-stress, is free and logical. That is, it rests on the word or words especially prominent in the thought.

290. In Old English, accent of words followed the law of the Teutonic accent. This law may be stated as follows. Uncompounded words were always accented on the first, or root, syllable. Compounds varied in accent, according as they were nouns and adjectives on the one side, or verbs on the other. Nouns and adjectives were accented on the

first syllable of a compound, as of a simple word. Verbs were regularly accented on the first syllable of the root and never on the prefix, unless they were derived from nouns and adjectives, when they retained the accent of the latter. Thus *answer*, the verb, retains the accent of *answer*, the noun, which is itself compounded of *and + swaru* and means 'a speaking in return.'

291. The accent of native English words has remained much the same in all periods. Examples of nouns or adjectives with accent on the prefix are compounds of *after, and, fore, fro, in, mid, off, on, out, over, under, up*, as in *aftermath, answer, forepart, froward, inland, midway, off-spring, onslaught, outlay, overthrow, underling, upward.* Verbs, with accent on the root, are *forego, ingather, offset, overthrow.* On the other hand, most nouns and adjectives formed with the prefixes *al-*, *mis-*, and *un-* have changed the accent from the prefix to the root. Examples are *almighty, misdeed, mistake, unkind, unwell.* These have probably been influenced by the accent of verbs.

292. Borrowed words in English have sometimes assumed the English accent, sometimes not. In general, words of common usage entering before Modern English times have the accent of native words; many entering later, as well as words of learned origin, retain the accent of the original language. To the first class belong early classical words, and those from Old French. Norse words already had Teutonic accent, and so easily associated themselves with native words. To the second belong words of late Latin and French origin, besides those from less important sources. Borrowed words which differed from English only

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gradually acquired the native accent. They are therefore differently stressed in different periods, and sometimes even in the same author. Thus *reason* is differently accented in the following lines of Chaucer : —

> "Til that he knew, by grace and by *resoún*."
> *(Monk's Tale*, 228.)

> "As fer as *réson* axeth, hardily."
> *(Clerk's Prologue*, 25.)

293. In assuming English accent, borrowed words have generally ranged themselves in the two characteristic classes of native words. Nouns and adjectives have usually assumed accent on the prefix, while verbs have more commonly re- tained the original accent on the root syllable, or on what was regarded as the root syllable. Examples of words show- ing different stress as nouns and verbs are *aúgment — aug- mént; cóllect — colléct; cómpound — compoúnd; cóncert — concért; cónduct — condúct; éxport — expórt; ímpress — impréss; ínsult — insúlt; pérmit — permít.* Adjectives and verbs differently accented are *ábsent — absént; fréquent — frequént.* On the other hand, adjectives sometimes agree in accent with verbs rather than with substantives, as *Aú- gust — augúst; mínute — minúte; súpine — supíne; ínvalid* (English *invalíd*) *— inválid.* Borrowed words which are not compounded of prefix and root often follow the anal- ogy of true compounds, as *férment — fermént; tórment — tormént.*

294. Words which do not conform to these general rules are usually late borrowings. For instance, many French words that appeared first in the seventeenth century, § 181,

have retained the foreign accent. Examples are, *bagatélle*, *brunétte*, *burlésque*, *cadét*, *cajóle*, *campaign*, *caprice*. As most of these are nouns or adjectives, they should have assumed initial stress by analogy of native words. Examples of Latin words which retain Latin accentuation are *auróra*, *cæsúra*, *colóssus*, *coróna*, *decórum*, *factótum*, *farína*, *legúmen*. Such words are mainly of learned origin and usage.

295. Thus far the accent of compounds which may be separated into prefix and root has been considered. True compounds, made up of independent words, usually follow the same laws. Examples of nouns are *daylight*, *drawbridge*, *grandfather*, *redbreast;* of adjectives, *godlike*, *headstrong*, *lovesick*. Verbs compounded of independent words are few, except those mentioned in § 291, or those formed from nouns and adjectives, which have initial stress as in former times. Examples are *blindfold*, *shipwreck*, *whitewash*.

296. Apart from this general agreement in accent between Modern English and the language of the older periods, one important tendency is to be noted. Modern English compounds tend to have equal, or level, stress on both parts of the compound. This is especially true of compounds with no mark of union in the written form, § 145, as the noun compounds *good man*, *wild rose;* the adjectives *half mad*, *dead ripe*, *red lead;* and the verbs *draw back*, *pour through*, *run away*. These do not conform to the general rule because not usually regarded as true compounds. Each part of the compound is thought of as significant. Thus *wild rose* is contrasted, not only

with *tame rose*, but with other wild flowers.   Otherwise the stress of such compounds follows the rule.

297. Some words differ in accent according to position in the sentence.   Such are adjectives compounded of adverbs and adjectives, as *illbred, hardhearted, shortsighted.* If used attributively, such words take initial stress ; if used as predicate adjectives, they take the stress on the second element.   So such words as *afternoon, forenoon,* are stressed on the first syllable when used as adjectives or as nouns in the position of subject.   If used in the predicate, they take stress on the second element, unless a contrast is implied. In most such cases, the accent can be easily explained as due to the original sentence stress.

298. Secondary stress in English words usually rests on the second syllable from the principal accent, as in *máni-föld, ínstruméntal.*   In compounds of two independent words the secondary accent falls on the second part, whether it stands next the primary accent or not, as in *dáylight, lóvesìck, hándiwörk.*   In dissyllabic compounds, however, the secondary stress is lost whenever the word is no longer regarded as a compound.   As examples of this see the obscure compounds in § 148.

299. As already mentioned in § 289, sentence stress in English is free and logical.   By this is meant that it is so placed as to emphasize the word, or words, especially prominent in sense.   For example, the sentence *Tom stole the knife* conveys slightly different ideas, as the stress is placed on one word or another.   If *Tom* is stressed, the person who committed the act is contrasted with others who might have been guilty.   On the other hand, if *stole* is stressed,

the method of obtaining the knife is emphasized, but not the person who gained possession. Still another idea is made prominent if the stress is placed on *knife*.

300. In general, sentence stress is used to emphasize new ideas, while ideas already in the mind of speaker and hearer, or those easily taken for granted, are left unstressed. Thus if *Tom* were strongly stressed in the sentence above, it would imply that the fact of stealing and the object stolen were already known to speaker and hearer. The verb *to be* is usually unstressed, because it is simply a connective between subject and what is asserted of the subject. Only when used to convey the less common idea of 'existence' is it strongly stressed. Examples of both of these latter uses occur in the famous quotation from Pope, "*Whatever is, is right.*"

301. Certain parts of speech usually receive more sentence stress than others. For example, many pronominal words, the articles, particles, and auxiliary verbs, are generally without stress in the sentence. But certain pronouns are always stressed, as the interrogative compared with the indefinite or relative, and the possessive compared with the personal pronouns. Besides, the adjective and adverb receive more stress than the noun and verb modified. Yet the adjective and adverb may lose this prominent stress when they are mere stock terms, adding little meaning to the expression. In all these, as in other cases, sentence stress is logical, that is, it depends upon the meaning intended by the speaker.

302. The importance of stress as a condition of changes in the forms of words has been previously illustrated by

such examples as those in § 146. As already noted also, § 219, phonetic changes are far more numerous in unstressed than in stressed syllables, and the same is true of changes due to analogy. Besides, the fact of stress enters into all the inflectional changes which will be considered in the following chapters.

V

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH INFLECTIONS

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CHAPTER XIII

INFLECTIONAL LEVELLING IN ENGLISH

303. It has been mentioned in § 8 that the Indo-European family is characterized by languages of the inflectional type. Yet English is also called an analytic, or uninflected language. That is, Modern English does not rely on inflectional forms for expressing the various relations of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs. On the contrary, English indicates these relations by position in the sentence, or by certain connective words, as prepositions and auxiliary verbs. The apparent inconsistency is not a real one. In the past every language of the Indo-European family has been inflected. Later the inflectional character has been more or less completely lost in some members of the group, as English, Dutch, French, and others. Besides, when it is said that English is an uninflected language, the statement is not entirely true. The losses of inflectional forms have been more considerable in English than in some other members of the Teutonic

group, as German. But English still retains case forms in the pronoun, one oblique case in nouns, and some inflectional forms in verbs.

304. The extent to which this inflectional levelling has affected English may be seen by comparison with the parent speech. The latter had eight cases, distinguished in nouns, pronouns, and adjectives by special endings. There were three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, with forms in nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs. The declensions of the primitive speech were numerous, and there was also a complicated and multiform verbal system. Almost the whole of this elaborate inflectional system has been gradually lost during the ages since the ancestors of the English and other Indo-European peoples lived together in a common home.

305. Even Gothic, the oldest extant form of Teutonic, shows great modifications of the Indo-European inflectional system. In the West Teutonic tongues the simplification was carried still further. The same tendency continued to affect in a marked degree the Low German languages. Finally, in the history of English itself, the process which has influenced all Teutonic languages has brought about the gradual loss of most of the original inflectional forms.

306. In the earliest period of English most nouns had but three case forms in singular and plural, although a few had four, and adjectives together with a few pronouns had five. Old English had also lost the dual number except in the first and second personal pronouns, and the latter forms were not in common use. Moreover, while the number of declensions was nominally more numerous, most nouns

were declined in one of two ways. One of these included masculine and neuter nouns, and the other, feminines. Adjectives agreed in their inflection with the majority of nouns, except for the weak declension, which was peculiar to the Teutonic languages.

307. Since Old English times, the levelling tendency has removed most of these older inflectional forms. With few exceptions nouns are now declined alike. They have, moreover, one common form for the older nominative, vocative, dative, and accusative cases, and one for the genitive singular. In most nouns the genitive plural is the same as the nominative, except for the apostrophe used in the written form. Adjectives have lost all traces of inflection. The personal pronoun alone preserves distinctive case forms. In verbs, the stems, as well as the inflectional forms, have been considerably reduced in number.

308. The influences which have brought about these inflectional changes in English are the two already mentioned as affecting the forms of words, — phonetic change and analogy. The first of these has been particularly influential in English because of the position of the Teutonic accent, which never rests on the inflectional ending. On this account, the inflectional and unstressed syllables have been gradually obscured in pronunciation. The second influence has tended to reduce the dissimilar inflectional forms to a common type, thus bringing regularity out of irregularity. Naturally the latter influence has been much aided by the former.

309. It is therefore misleading to suppose that the breaking down of inflectional forms has been directly due to the

influence of foreign languages with which English has come in contact. This is clear from the fact that inflectional levelling had begun in Old English times. In late Old English it proceeded rapidly. In Middle English the language was assuming its modern form, even in those localities least affected by foreign influences. Besides, a similar inflectional levelling has taken place in other members of the Teutonic branch on which there has been slight influence from without, as in Danish and Dutch.

310. The real effect of such foreign influences as that of Danish and Norman French, was in breaking down the standard speech, and in preventing the establishment of a new standard. The absence of a standard language removed the check upon almost indiscriminate levelling. Each writer tended to use the dialect of his restricted district. By reason of this, some inflectional forms tended to become obscured in one, some in another district. The confusion arising in the borderland of two such districts tended to destroy the forms peculiar to each and thus hasten inflectional change.

311. If foreign influences have not directly affected inflectional levelling, much less likely is it that there has been any borrowing of inflectional forms from foreign sources. Although borrowing of inflectional forms has sometimes been asserted, the assertion has never been satisfactorily supported. Besides, the principle may be strongly emphasized that foreign influence should be assumed only when no influence within a language will satisfactorily account for the fact in question. As will be seen from the following chapters, there is no inflectional form in English which

cannot be easily accounted for from older forms in one or another of its dialects. For the apparent exception in the case of the pronouns *they, them*, compare § 373.

312. In considering the changes taking place in English inflections, it must be remembered that they were brought about in the most gradual manner. As said before, there is no sharp dividing line between the language forms of different periods. Nevertheless it will be convenient to consider inflections in relation to the three divisions of our language history. Old English may thus be regarded as the period of full inflections, Middle English as the period of levelled inflections, and Modern English as the period of lost inflections. Yet the last of these terms must not be taken too literally, since Modern English still retains a number of inflectional forms.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NOUN

313. The Old English noun inflections have been briefly characterized in § 306. More exactly, all nouns belonged to one of two principal varieties of declension, called strong and weak,[1] although such names are more convenient than descriptive of essential peculiarities. In each of these declensions there were variations for the three genders, but masculine and neuter nouns had much in common, and the forms of all genders in the weak declension were much alike. Old English gender was purely grammatical, as in German or Latin; that is, gender in nouns had no relation to sex as at present. Besides the declensions mentioned above, there were certain anomalous nouns in Old English which will be considered by themselves.

314. The principal noun inflections of Old English[2] may be represented by the following examples. Such words have been chosen for illustration as have been preserved in Modern English without great change in general form. Thus *dōm* is 'doom,' *word* 'word,' *clif* 'cliff,' *glōf* 'glove,' *lufu* 'love,' *oxa* 'ox,' *ēare* 'ear,' *heorte* 'heart.'

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[1] The terms 'strong' and 'weak' were given by Jacob Grimm to different varieties of inflection in nouns, adjectives, and verbs. For convenience, they are often retained at the present time, as in this book.

[2] For the simplest description of the inflections of OE. nouns, as of other inflected forms, see Cook's *First Book in Old English*, pp. 26-80.

I. THE STRONG DECLENSION.

	MASCULINE.	NEUTER.		FEMININE.	
		Singular.			
N.V.[1]	dōm	word	clif	glōf	lufu
G.	dōmes	wordes	clifes	glōfe	lufe
D.I.	dōme	worde	clife	glōfe	lufe
A.	dōm	word	clif	glōfe	lufe
		Plural.			
N.V.A.	dōmas	word	clifu	glōfa (e)	lufa (e)
G.	dōma	worda	clifa	glōfa (ena)	lufa (ena)
D.I.	dōmum	wordum	clifum	glōfum	lufum

II. THE WEAK DECLENSION.

	MASCULINE.	NEUTER.	FEMININE.
		Singular.	
N.V.	oxa	ēare	heorte
G.	oxan	ēaran	heortan
D.I.	oxan	ēaran	heortan
A.	oxan	ēare	heortan
		Plural.	
N.V.A.	oxan	ēaran	heortan
G.	oxena	ēarena	heortena
D.I.	oxum	ēarum	heortum

315. The differences between these forms are not really so great as they may seem. For instance, strong masculines and neuters have only three case forms in the singular,

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[1] N. means nominative; V., vocative, which is always the same as the nominative; G., genitive; D., dative; I., instrumental (Latin ablative), and always the same as the dative in nouns; A., accusative, always like the nominative in masculines and neuters. For convenience the same case names are retained for all periods of English.

although in the table, on account of feminine nouns, the accusative of masculines and neuters is separated from the nominative and vocative. In the singular, weak neuters also have but three forms. The neuters *word* and *clif* and the feminines *glōf* and *lufu* differ from each other in but a single case for each pair. The plurals of all strong nouns are much alike, while the plurals of all weak nouns are exactly the same. Feminines of weak nouns are like masculines except in the nominative, and like neuters except in the accusative. These points of resemblance may be emphasized by a table of inflectional endings as follows:

| | STRONG. | | | WEAK. | | |
	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Singular.						
N.V.	—		—, u	a	e	e
G.	es	٬	e		an	
D.I.	e		e		an	
A.	—		e	an	e	an
Plural.						
N.V.A.	as	—, u	a (e)		an	
G.		a			ena	
D.I.		um			um	

In the above table a dash means that there is no inflectional ending; similar endings for two or three genders are given but once.

316. The changes affecting inflections from Old to Middle English reduced the noun forms to much more of regularity. First, by phonetic changes, every unstressed *a, o, u,* became *e,* and final *m* of the *-um* ending became *n.* The second influence was analogy. By reason of the

latter, the masculine-neuter genitive in *-es* was extended to
original feminines and to most weak nouns, while the dative
usually took the form of the nominative and accusative.
At the same time the plural masculine N.V.A. in *-es* (OE.
as) became the plural ending of all but a few exceptional
nouns. This was due to the fact that it was the plural
ending of the largest class of strong nouns in Old English,
and it was also more distinctive than the *-en* plural of weak
nouns. Besides, the ending *-es* became common to all
plural cases, displacing the dative as usually in the singular,
and the genitive both because the latter was seldom used
and because of the similar form of the genitive singular.
Finally, the grammatical gender of Old English was gradu-
ally lost, owing to the loss of distinctive endings for gender
in nouns, adjectives, and demonstrative pronouns.

317. As a result of these changes the noun inflection in
the Midland dialect, even at the beginning of Middle
English times, was exceedingly simple. Soon after 1100,
as shown by the language of the *Peterborough Chronicle*,
§ 82, and certainly by 1200, as shown by the language of
Orm, most nouns were declined in one of two ways, as
follows :

	I.	II.
Singular N.V.A.	dōm	lufe
G.	dōmes	lufes (lufe)
D. (I.)	dōm (dōme)	lufe
Plural (all cases)	dōmes	lufes

318. The main difference between these two classes is
in the N.V.A. singular, which is without special ending in
nouns of class I., but always ends in *e* in nouns of class II.

The form with *e* in the dative singular of the first and the genitive singular of the second class is seldom found. In the latter case it usually occurs in combinations which are probably compounds rather than genitives with following nouns. Examples are *herte blod* 'heart blood,' *chirche door* 'church door,' *ladye day* 'Lady day.' Besides nouns belonging to these two classes, there were certain irregular plurals which will be described in a following section.

319. The noun inflections in Chaucer, representing Middle English of the fourteenth century, agree in general with those of the earlier period. The main difference is that *e* of the *es* endings is sometimes lost, so that the forms in Chaucer approach somewhat nearer to those of Modern English. In the fifteenth century these two declensions became one by loss of final *e*, as in many other classes of words. About the same time, *e* of the *-es* endings was regularly syncopated, except after words ending in certain consonants. Thus most nouns of Modern English, including most of those borrowed from other languages, are declined according to one general type.

320. When it is said that most Modern English nouns are declined alike, reference is made especially to the written form. If the spoken form be regarded, Modern English nouns are of three types according as they add, in the genitive singular and the plural, *-z, -s, -iz(ez)*. In speech, nouns ending in a vowel or voice consonant add *-z* ; those ending in a voiceless consonant add *-s* ; and those ending in, *s, z, sh, ch*, or *j* sounds add the syllable *-iz(ez)*, written *es(s)*. More exactly, nouns of the latter class retain the Middle English *-es* ending without syncopation of *e*.

The written forms of the three types may be illustrated as follows :

		I.	II.	III.
Singular	N.V.A.D.	boy	hat	horse
	G.	boy's	hat's	horse's
Plural	N.V.A.D.	boys	hats	horses
	G.	boys'	hats'	horses'

321. From this scheme there are few divergences in Modern English except in the case of irregular plurals. In forming the genitive singular, nouns ending in *s* sometimes add the apostrophe only. The reason for this irregularity is very old. In Middle English, foreign words ending in *s* did not always assume inflectional *-es* in either the genitive or the plural. In early Modern English also, the genitive *-s* was sometimes omitted, if the following word began with *s*, as 'a *river*['s] side.' Examples in which the apostrophe alone is added are certain biblical phrases, as '*Jesus*' sake,' '*conscience*' sake.' In the spoken form there is also a divergence in usage from the table above. Polysyllables, sometimes monosyllables, ending in *s* remain unchanged in the genitive, as '*Achilles*' wrath,' '*Xerxes*' army,' instead of forms with the extra syllable in *iz*, as *Achillesiz*. This is probably a retention of older usage in the case of names, under the influence of euphony.

322. The use of the apostrophe in the written form of the genitive case deserves a word of explanation. The apostrophe was originally used in all kinds of words to denote contraction. It still marks the loss of a consonant in *o'er*, *e'er*, and of a vowel in *don't*. In early Modern English the apostrophe was used to mark the loss of medial *e*

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in the plural, as well as in the genitive singular. Later, it came to be restricted to the genitive singular, and was regarded as a sign of that case. After the apostrophe came to be regarded as a sign of the genitive case, it was naturally added in the plural as well as the singular.

323. The restriction of the apostrophe to the genitive case may have been due to the supposed derivation of that case from the personal pronoun *his*. Owing to this supposed derivation, it was not uncommon in Elizabethan times to write *his* instead of the genitive, especially after words ending in *s*. For example, the name of one of Ben Jonson's plays was written 'Sejanus *his* Fall,' although it was no doubt spoken as if written '*Sejanusiz* Fall.' Under the influence of this use of *his*, *her* was sometimes placed after feminine nouns, as ' Venus *her* glass.' The original confusion of the personal pronoun and the genitive was due to the fact that in rapid speech *his* had the same pronunciation as syllabic *-is(es)*. Besides, the possessive pronoun was perhaps sometimes used after the name of the owner for special emphasis, as the nominative also in the dialectal expression, 'John *he* said.'

324. In Modern English the genitive ending is added only to the last word of a syntactical group, as 'the good King *Edward's* crown,' 'the Queen of *England's* son,' 'Jones and *Thompson's* store,' 'the man in the *moon's* thornbush.' Thus, for purposes of inflection, such a group is treated as a compound word. In Old English, as in most inflected languages, an ending would have been added to each noun, adjective, and pronoun ; for instance, to *good*, *king*, and *Edward* in the first example. This

group genitive is therefore one of the most convenient
devices of our analytic tongue.

Irregular Plurals

325. Certain irregular plurals in Modern English remain
to be mentioned. The most important of these are nouns
which, as Old English neuters, had no ending in the N.A.
plural, and have remained unchanged to the present time.
Examples are *deer, sheep, swine, neat* 'cattle.' In Middle
and early Modern English, such examples are more fre-
quent, and many of them still occur in occasional usage
or in certain expressions. Thus *folk, head, horse, pound,*
and *yoke* are sometimes used as plurals or collective singu-
lars to-day. The word *night* is an unchanged plural in
sennight, fortnight; month in the expression 'a twelve
month,' and *pound* in 'a ten *pound* note.' Partly by
analogy of these unchanged plurals, partly because of a
tendency to use certain words in a collective sense, nouns
of measure, whether native or borrowed words, sometimes
remain unchanged after numerals. Examples are *brace,
bushel, cannon, couple, dozen, fathom, foot, gross, mile, quire,
ream, ton.*

326. Another class of irregular plurals includes nouns
ending in voiceless *f* or *th*, as *wife, bath*. In all such words
the final *f* or *th* was voiced before a vocalic ending in Old
and Middle English, and this has remained in the plurals
of certain words, or occasionally in the genitive of com-
pounds, as in *calves-head*. Other words have assumed new
plural forms without voiced *f* or *th*, by analogy of the singu-
lars, especially words containing short *i* or *u* which show no

change of consonant. This change of *f* and *th* originally belonged only to Teutonic words, but one French word, *beef*, shows a similar voicing of *f* in the plural. As words in final *f* and *th* show changes of these letters in the plurals, we should expect final *s* to be voiced in similar circumstances. This is true, however, of but one word, *house* — *houses*.

327. The irregular plural *oxen* and the poetic *eyen* represent the Old English weak declension. In Middle English, *-en* plurals were numerous, more especially in the Southern dialect. In the Midland dialect they were also more common than to-day, for Chaucer uses such forms as *asshen* 'ashes,' *pesen* 'pease,' *hosen* 'hose,' *foon* 'foes,' *been* 'bees,' *toon* 'toes.' Such words, however, have become regular, except for dialectal forms which sometimes occur. A few *-en* plurals from nouns not originally weak belong in the following classes.

328. Other irregular plurals are those which show mutation, § 250, as *man* — *men*. In Old English mutation was not a sign of number, but as it occurred only in the dative of the singular, while it was found in the nominative and accusative of the plural, it came to be regarded as a plural sign. To this class belong *man* — *men, woman* and most other compounds of *man, foot* — *feet, tooth* — *teeth, goose* — *geese, louse* — *lice, mouse* — *mice*. The word *Norman* 'Northman' has the regular plural *Normans* since, though originally Teutonic, it came to English from French after the loss of the mutated form. The plurals of such words as *Englishman, Frenchman* are pronounced like the singular, though written with its mutated form. The archaic

word *kine* is really a mutated plural of *cow* (OE. *cū*) to which *-en* was later added. On the other hand, *breeches*, a mutated plural of OE. *brōc*, has assumed the regular ending *-es*. These are therefore double plurals.

329. Some nouns of relationship had peculiarities of inflection in Old English. Most of these have become regular, but *brother* still retains an older plural, *brethren*, beside the later and regular *brothers*. The former is a double plural like *kine*, the earlier plural ending in *-r*, to which *-en* was later added. The *e* of *brethren* is due to mutation, although the mutated form did not occur in the OE. plural. *Children* is a similar plural in *-r + en*, the older form remaining in the dialectal *childer*. Words with two plurals are *dice — dies* from *die*, *pence — pennies* from *penny*. The first of each are the older forms and show early incorporation of the ending into the word. The second forms are later and regular. Such double forms are retained since each has come to have a slightly different meaning or use.

330. The written forms of some plurals deserve special notice. For example, according to the modern rule, nouns ending in *-y* (not *ey*, *oy*) form their plurals in *-ies*. Historically the plural is the older form, and the singular in *-ie* (*cf. die*, *pie*) has been changed to *-y* in most cases. In some words the spelling has been influenced by analogy, as *negroes*, *potatoes* by analogy of *foes*, *woes*.

331. Attention has been called in § 324 to the genitive inflection of a syntactical group. The plural inflection of a similar group shows less of regularity. In the case of groups made up of a noun and modifying element, the noun is made plural whether the modifying element precedes or

follows.   Examples in which the modifying element precedes the noun are ' the Smith *brothers*,' ' butter *rolls*,' ' two foot *rules*.'   These conform to ordinary compounds, as *tooth brushes, goose eggs, mouse traps*.   Examples in which the modifying element follows the noun are ' *sons*-in-law,' ' *hangers* on,' ' *commanders*-in-chief,' ' *states* general,' ' *knights* errant,' ' *courts* martial,' ' the *Misses* Smith,' ' the *Doctors* Brown.'   Another group, consisting of verb phrases or adjective phrases used substantively, adds the plural sign at the end of the group, as ' forget-me-*nots*,' ' go-*betweens*,' ' four-per-*cents*,' ' two-by-*fours*.'   Under the influence of the latter, and perhaps also under the influence of the group genitive, groups made up of a noun and modifying element sometimes take the plural sign at the end of the group.   In this way ' *sons*-in-law ' sometimes becomes ' son-in-*laws*.' Such forms as ' court *martials*,' ' the Miss *Smiths*,' ' the two Doctor *Smiths* ' are also not uncommon.

332.   In a few cases, both parts of a group are made plural.   The only examples among native words are those with *man, woman*, for the first element, as *men folks, men children, women writers*.   Besides these there are a few borrowed compounds which are similarly irregular, as *lords lieutenants, knights templars*.   In the latter cases, the whole expression may be said to be borrowed and has therefore retained its original inflection.

Borrowed Words

333.   Most borrowed words entering the language in Old, Middle, and early Modern English have assumed the inflection of native words.   It is true that in Middle English for-

eign words ending in *s* remained unchanged in the plural, as sometimes in the genitive singular. Later, however, these words were regularized, except for the genitive case, § 321. It was only when learned words began to be borrowed in modern times that foreign plurals were also adopted, as *formula — formulæ, radius — radii*. The present tendency of the language, though not a strong one, is to rid itself of these foreign plurals, except where the foreign form has come to have a special meaning, as *indices* beside *indexes*.

Gender in Modern English

334. The loss of grammatical gender has been already noticed as owing to the loss of distinctive endings, § 316. For example, Old English had two words for 'brother's child,' *nefa* masculine, and *nefe* feminine. Both of these forms became *nefe* in Middle English, and the distinction of gender was necessarily lost. With the loss of grammatical gender, natural gender alone was regarded, or in other words gender now belongs only to such nouns as denote sex. The term 'neuter gender' is still used not in reference to distinctive endings as in Latin or Old English, but for nouns having no relation to sex, or for some applied to either sex, as *child* and *fish*. Besides, the term 'common gender' is sometimes used, though the distinction implied is not usually an important one.

335. When the endings for grammatical gender were lost, there was no means of expressing the distinction, except by different words or by different prefixes and suffixes. Different words to express gender naturally go in pairs, as *father — mother, brother — sister, son — daughter*. Some of these

pairs, as those just cited, belong to Old English. In other cases a foreign word has been joined to a native one, as French *countess*, the present feminine of English *earl*. So *bachelor* is French, *maid* and *spinster* English, and *husband*, from Norse, is now masculine to English *wife*. In still other cases both words are borrowed, as *uncle — aunt* from French, and *lad — lass*, which have been said to be Welsh, but may be Teutonic. Of much later introduction are such foreign pairs as *executor — executrix, sultan — sultana*.

336. Certain suffixes expressing gender show considerable changes since Old English times. The most frequent feminine suffix of Modern English is *-ess*, which is of French origin. In Old English, however, there was another feminine suffix, *-estre*, now *-ster* as in *songster*. This corresponded to a masculine suffix *-ere*, Modern English *-er*, implying the agent. Old English included many pairs of words with these distinctive endings, as *bæcere* 'baker,' *bæcestre* 'female baker'; *sangere* 'singer,' *sangestre* 'female singer.' With the loss of grammatical gender the significance of these suffixes also disappeared. Owing to this, the suffix *-ster* came to be regarded as masculine or, more exactly, lost all sex significance as in *tapster, huckster, gamester, chorister, youngster*. One such word, *spinster*, is still applied only to women, but without thought of its being originally the feminine of *spinner*. A number of proper names had their origin in words with this ending, as *Webster*, originally 'the woman who weaves,' *Baxter* 'the woman who bakes.' Two words *songstress, seamstress* have become double feminines by the addition of the French *-ess*, to English *-ster* after the feminine significance of the latter had been lost.

CHAPTER XV

THE ADJECTIVE

337. The Old English adjective had two declensions distinguishing a twofold use. The second of these forms, as given below, was used after a demonstrative pronoun, and the first in most other cases. Both these declensions of the adjective are still preserved in Modern German, though entirely lost in Modern English. The inflectional endings of the two declensions corresponded in the main to those of strong and weak nouns, except that some of the original noun endings had been replaced by the corresponding forms of the pronoun.

338. The declensions of the Old English adjective may be represented by the forms of *gōd* ' good,' although certain adjectives differ in minor particulars.

	THE STRONG FORM.			THE WEAK FORM.		
	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
		Singular.			*Singular.*	
N.V.	gōd	gōd	gōd	gōda	gōde	gōde
G.		gōdes	gōdre		gōdan	
D.		gōdum	gōdre		gōdan	
A.	gōdne	gōd	gōde	gōdan	gōde	gōdan
I.		gōde			gōdan	
		Plural.			*Plural.*	
N.V.A.	gōde	gōd	gōda(e)		gōdan	
G.		gōdra			gōdra(ena)	
D.I.		gōdum			gōdum	

339. The breaking down of inflectional forms which affected all words in the late Old English, and the early Middle English, period was very thoroughgoing in the case of the adjective. Even in the first century of Middle English (1100–1200) all adjective endings had been reduced to *-e*. Moreover, this *-e* was found as a distinctive sign only in the plural of the weak declension, and occasionally in the dative singular of the strong. Adjectives ending in *-e* in the nominative singular, showed no variation for the plural or the weak forms. The usual inflection of the Middle English adjective may be given as follows : —

	I.		II.
	STRONG.	WEAK.	STRONG AND WEAK.
Singular,	gōd	gōde	grēne
Plural,	gōde	gōde	grēne

340. The adjective retained these inflectional forms in the main through the fourteenth century. But even in Chaucer the distinctive *-e* of the weak form, and of the plural when used predicatively, was sometimes lost. Final *-e* in adjectives, as in all other words, might also be elided before a word beginning with a vowel or weak *h*. All these facts show the tendency toward dropping inflectional *-e* in adjectives, a change which was completed as early as the fifteenth century, if not somewhat before that time. In Caxton, for example, the adjective seldom retains inflectional *-e* even in the written form.

341. While the above statement is true for the great majority of adjectives, there are a few relics of older forms in Middle English, and some of these have remained to

modern times. For example, an old genitive plural of *all* is found in the form *aller, alder*. Chaucer has the expression 'youre *aller* cost,' which means 'cost of you all,' and *alderbest* 'best of all.' Even Shakespeare uses *alderliefest* 'dearest of all.' It has been sometimes said that the word *olden* in such expressions as 'the *olden* time,' retains the *-en* ending of the weak declension. But it is more probable that this is a later formation by analogy of such adjectives as *golden, brazen, flaxen*.

342. Besides these relics of the older inflection of the adjective, there are a few exceptional forms in foreign words. In the main, as in the case of nouns, borrowed adjectives assumed the inflection of words of native origin. A very few French adjectives retained in Middle English the French plural in *-s*, although usually only in certain phrases. Chaucer has occasionally such an expression as *places delectables* 'pleasant places' in which the adjective has both the French position and inflection. It is worth noting, however, that this French inflection of the adjective commonly occurs only in the prose of Chaucer, which was translated directly from French. Caxton also has a similar expression *knightes errauntes*, though also *knightes erraunt*. A few such expressions have also been retained to the present time, as *lords justices, knights templars*, to which attention has already been called under nouns, § 332. Such forms, however, are rare even in Middle English, and must be regarded as borrowed expressions rather than as due to the borrowing of an inflectional form.

343. The changes in the adjective from Middle to Modern English are few and simple. With the dropping

of final *e*, which affected all words in late Middle English, all forms of the adjective, both strong and weak, singular and plural, became alike, so that the Modern English adjective has no change in form to express gender, number, or case. While this is true, certain adjectives when used substantively have developed an -*s* plural after the analogy of nouns. In Chaucer *the gentils* is so used. Shakespeare used such forms more frequently, as *gentles, severals and generals, mechanicals, likes, elders*. As a result of this tendency, certain plurals of adjectives have come to be regularly used as nouns. Examples are *commons, elders, betters, sweets, vegetables, particulars, necessaries*. Besides, certain pronominal adjectives also have inflected forms as shown in § 399.

344. Two adjectives require special attention, the articles *a, an,* and *the,* but these will be considered in relation to the words from which they have sprung. The one is historically a numeral, § 354, the other a demonstrative, § 380. Under the head of the adjective rightly comes, however, the consideration of derivative forms that express degrees of adjectival force, or comparison, as it is called.

Comparison

345. The comparison of adjectives by means of derivative endings belonged to the Indo-European language, as shown by its occurrence in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit as well as in Teutonic. In Teutonic there were two sets of endings for comparative and superlative, but in general Old English retained but one. The Old English endings were

-*ra* for the comparative and -*ost* (*est*) for the superlative. An example of an Old English word in the three forms is *heard — heardra — heardost* ' hard — harder — hardest.' In addition to this regular form of comparison there were a few irregular forms which will be explained in a following section.

346. The explanation of our modern forms is exceedingly simple. In early Middle English the endings for comparison became -*re*, -*est*, by the weakening of unstressed *a* and *o*. By the time of Chaucer they were more commonly written -*er*, -*est*, as at present, with only an occasional comparative form in -*re*. The comparative ending -*re* came to be written -*er* after the loss of final *e*, by analogy of other English words ending in -*er*. In only one word, *more*, is the Middle English -*re* ending still retained.

347. Certain irregular forms of comparison have been mentioned in § 345. Most of these are really regular forms from the second set of endings already referred to as occurring in Teutonic. The apparent irregularity is due to mutation, which was caused by the vowel *i* of the second set of endings. For example, in Old English, *strong* was compared *strong — strengra — strengest*. In Middle English most of these mutated forms gave way to regular formations by analogy, but several have been preserved to modern times. Examples are *elder — eldest*, now used as descriptive adjectives beside the regular forms used in comparison. Mutated forms also occur in *better — best*, used to complete the comparison of *good*. These are from a root **bat* which was not preserved in Old English. In the same way, *less* and *least* come from mutated forms of a stem **lās*, meaning ' weak.'

348. Attention has been called to certain double plurals of nouns, as *brethren* and *children*. Among adjectives there are also some double forms of comparison, as *foremost*, *hindmost*, *inmost*, *outmost*. These spring from original superlatives with an *-m* suffix seen in OE. *for-ma* 'first.' Even in Old English some of these had taken a second superlative ending *-est*, as *innemest* 'inmost.' Later the double superlative ending *-mest* was associated with *most*, which had come to be used in comparison, so that the latter finally displaced the former. We thus have such forms as *inmost*, *utmost* and *outmost*, *foremost*, and others. Of these *outmost*, *foremost* (OE. *fyrmest*) have had their first vowels changed by analogy of *out* and *fore*. The older form *utmost* shows regular vowel shortening, § 244.

349. Still more anomalous forms also occur. By analogy of such Middle English superlatives as *aftermost*, the new superlatives *uttermost*, *furthermost*, were formed from the comparatives *utter* and *further*. After these double superlatives had established themselves, the double comparatives *furthermore*, *uttermore*, the latter now obsolete, were formed. On the basis of the old superlative *forma*, a later comparative *former* was also made to correspond with *latter*.

350. The new forms due to analogy in the case of *strong* and *old* have been already pointed out. Several other comparatives and superlatives are also analogical forms. *Late* has *later — latest*, beside the older *latter — last*, both of which have lost something of their comparative force. *Nearer — nearest* are examples of new forms based upon an older comparative *near*, the older comparison being *nigh — near — next*. In a similar way *worser* and *lesser* are

based on true comparatives *worse, less. Far* has two sets
of comparative and superlative forms used somewhat indis-
criminately as *farther — farthest, further — furthest.* Only
one of these is original, the comparative *further.* The su-
perlative of *further* was *fyrst* (*first*), which has become
entirely separated from the series. Later the superlative
furthest was formed by analogy, together with the remaining
forms from *far. More — most* are from an original adverb
mā, which became an adjective in Middle English and
remained in early Modern English as *moe.*

351. The comparison of adjectives by the adverbs *more*
and *most* is not found in Old English. It occurs first in
the early part of the thirteenth century, although it is not
common till the time of Chaucer. Just how this form of
comparison came into use is not determined, but it probably
arose from an extension of the use of these common adverbs
with participles, and adjectives not strictly allowing com-
parison. At first *more* and *most* were used indiscriminately
with the other form of comparison, but later the differentia-
tion in present use came into existence.

Numerals

352. The numerals may be classed with adjectives owing
to their use as adjectives in Modern English. In Old Eng-
lish, however, the words for *hundred* and *thousand* were
neuter nouns, and the numerals from *twenty* to *ninety* were
commonly so used. The words for *one, two, three,* alone
had variations for gender, while *one* was also inflected
in both numbers, with the special meaning in the plural of

'alone,' 'only.' In the Middle English period, owing largely to the breaking down of inflectional endings, the present adjective use of numerals became established.

353. It is interesting to note that the Teutonic system of numbering was at one time duodecimal, not decimal; that is, the Teutons originally counted by twelves instead of by tens. Later the decimal system largely displaced the other, although there are still some relics of the original form. Thus after twelve, not at eleven as might be expected, a change is made to a series of numerals ending in *-teen* 'ten.' In the oldest period of English, also, the word *hund* 'hundred' was prefixed to every numeral from *seventy* to *one hundred twenty*. The latter was the 'hundred' in the duodecimal system. In German, *klein hundert* and *gross hundert* 'little hundred, great hundred' are still used.

354. The first cardinal numeral in Old English, *ān*, should have given a Modern English form with the vowel of *stone*. This form is found only in compounds of the numeral, as *alone, only, atone, no*. Besides, there have been two other developments of the older form. The numeral *one* and adverb *once* show a form shortened and modified to the vowel in *but*. In speech they have also developed an initial *w* which is not represented in the written words. A third form appears in the indefinite article *an, a*, an important offshoot of the numeral. The article shows early shortening of the vowel and later loss of final *n* before words beginning with a consonant. The change from numeral to article is due to a gradual loss of the numerical idea when the latter was unimportant. The older signi-

fication still occurs in such expressions as '*a* day or two,' equivalent to '*one* or two days.'

355. The process by which *an* lost its final *n* and became *a* before words beginning with a consonant, was a gradual one, as in the pronoun forms *my, mine, thy, thine,* § 377. In Chaucer's time a similar loss occurred in the numeral which also had two forms *ōn, ō(oo)*, the latter before a consonant. Two other words, *none, no* < OE. *nān (ne + ān)*, show the same differentiation in form and sounds. Connected with this Old English numeral is *nonce* in ' for the *nonce*,' § 381. The Old English plural sense of 'only' has been lost through the loss of inflectional forms, although the numeral *one* has the new genitive *one's* and the plural *ones*.

356. The second and third cardinal numerals were declined as follows : —

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
N.	twēgen	tū, twā	twā	ðrī, ðrīe	ðrēo	ðrēo
G.		twēg(e)a, twēgra			ðrēora	
D.I.		twǣm, twām			ðrīm	

The Modern English forms *two* and *three* have come from the neuter-feminine *twā* and *ðrēo*. The use of each of these for two genders easily accounts for its displacement of the less common masculine. The masculine *twēgen*, however, is found in Modern English *twain*, and the same root occurs in *between, betwixt*. The masculine *ðrī* is also preserved in *thrice*, and with shortened vowel and metathesis in *thirteen, thirty*.

357. The remaining cardinals require little attention. Modern English *five, twelve,* with *v* instead of *f*, come from

o

the inflected forms *fīfe*, *twelfe* ($f = v$), which established
themselves in Middle English as the regular forms.   The
numerals from *thirteen* to *nineteen* are compounds with the
OE. suffix *tēne* 'ten.'   The ending *-ty* of *twenty*, *thirty*, etc.
comes from OE. *-tig*, meaning ' a ten.'   In the older lan-
guage there was no numeral beyond *thousand* (OE. ð*ūsand*).
Million was added in Middle English from the French, and
later from the same source *billion*, *trillion*, *quadrillion*, etc.,
formed by analogy from the Latin prefixes *bi*, *tri*, etc., and
the assumed root *-illion*.

358.   The ordinals of present English differ in several
particulars from the oldest forms, the most marked changes
being due to analogy.   For *first* both *forma* and *fyrest* were
once used, the latter alone being preserved as the ordinal.
Instead of *second*, which was borrowed from French, Old
English used *ōð*er* ' other.'   The older numerical idea
accounts for certain expressions in English as ' *one* or the
other,' ' *one* and *another*,' although all idea of the numeral
is now lost.   The ordinals *third*, *fourth*, *eighth* are direct
descendants of OE. ð*ridda* (ð*irda*), *fēowerð*a*, *eahteoð*a;
but *fifth*, *sixth*, *twelfth* have changed final *t* to *th* by analogy
of other *th* forms, the Old English ordinals being *fīfta*, *sixta*,
twelfta.   These older forms were preserved to Shakespeare's
time, as shown by the titles *Henry the Fift*, *Henry the Sixt*,
and *Twelfe-Night* in the first Folio, the latter with loss of *t*
after *f*.

359.   Analogy has also influenced the forms *seventh*, *ninth*,
tenth, *eleventh*, *thirteenth* to *nineteenth*, these originally having
th, but not *n*, which rightly belongs to the cardinals only.
Still later, or in early Modern English, the ending *th* was

extended to *hundred, thousand,* and the higher cardinals, which had originally no ordinal form. As a result of these changes all ordinals except the first three are now formed by adding *th* to the cardinal, although they once differed considerably from these forms.

360. The formation of multiplicatives is the same as in Old English times, the adjective suffix *fold* < OE. *feald* being added to the cardinals, although *one-fold* is no longer used. Some words with multiplicative idea have been introduced from French, as *double, treble,* and later *triple,* while *two-ply, three-ply* are hybrids, made up of English and French. The present English distributives, *two by two, three by three,* are scarcely a preservation from Old English times, since *and* was used instead of *by,* and the numeral was in the dative-instrumental case, as *twǣm and twǣm* 'two by two.' The older form occurs in the Bible as *two and two,* Gen. 7 : 9, in Shakespeare, as in *Henry IV,* III, iii, 104, and sometimes colloquially.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PRONOUN

361. The pronouns have this interest in particular, that they retain forms connected with the earliest Indo-European on the one hand, and with present European tongues on the other. Besides, they have suffered fewer losses of inflectional endings than nouns and adjectives; that is, pronouns have preserved three case forms, while nouns have kept but two, and adjectives but one. The order in which the various classes of pronouns may be treated is a matter of convenience, rather than of logical or historical sequence. Here they will be considered in the order of personal, reflexive, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, and indefinite.

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

362. The pronouns of the first and second person, which may be separated from that of the third person because they have no forms expressing gender, were declined in Old English as follows : —

FIRST PERSON.

	Singular.	*Dual.*	*Plural.*
N.	ic, íc	wit, wīt	we, wē
G.	mín	uncer	ūser, ūre
D.I.	me, mē	unc	ūs
A.	mec, me, mē	uncit, unc	ūsic, ūs

SECOND PERSON.

	Singular.	*Dual.*	*Plural.*
N.V.	ðu, ðū	git, gīt	ge, gē, gīe
G.	ðīn	incer	ēower
D.I.	ðe, ðē	inc	ēow
A.	ðec, ðe, ðē	incit, inc	ēowic, ēow

The forms with long vowels following those with short vowels above, as *īc*, *mē*, *wē*, represent lengthenings in late Old English.

363. The changes in these pronouns have been considerable. First, all trace of a dual number was lost in early Middle English. At the same time, also, the genitives of the personal pronoun were usually displaced by possessive pronouns derived from them. This is shown by the fact that the possessive pronouns were regularly inflected, as genitives of course were not. The genitive form is still retained in its place in the pronoun inflection, with a parenthesis to indicate its more restricted use.

364. It will be seen that, even in Old English, the datives were beginning to supplant the older accusatives, as shown by *me* beside the accusative *mec*, *ðe* beside *ðec*. In late Old English the change was fully completed, so that no relics of the separate accusatives now remain, *me*, *us*, *you*, *thee*, being both dative and accusative in use. In early Middle English, therefore, the first and second personal pronouns were inflected as follows : —

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
N.	īk, ī	wē	þū (thou)	ȝē, yē
G.	(mīn)	(ūre)	(þīn)	(ȝūr, your)
D.A.	mē	ūs	þē	ȝūw, ȝū, you.

The sign ȝ in ȝē, ȝūr, etc., represents a consonant similar to *y*. The forms in Chaucer were essentially the same as those above, with the exception of the Southern *ich*, now preserved only as a dialectal form in southwestern England.

365. In accounting for our Modern English forms of the pronouns, it must be remembered that they have usually little sentence stress, so that weak forms naturally came to exist beside the strong forms. This accounts for Middle English *ī* beside *īk*, the former alone having survived in our pronoun *I*. It also accounts for short *u* in *us*, as well as for *you*, *your* instead of forms with the diphthong of *house*, as would be expected from the older words. The remaining forms in common use, *mē* and *wē*, still have short vowels when unemphatic. From what is said above, *thou* should have a vowel like that of *you*, but in the case of this archaic word the strong form has displaced the weak, which existed in earlier speech.

366. During the Middle English period, the plural *ye*, *you*, began to be used in ceremonious address in place of the singular. This was due to French, and perhaps to classical, influence. Such a use occurs first in the thirteenth century, and by Chaucer's time was common. During all this time the older singular remained among the common people, and was probably employed to some extent by the upper classes, as well as by superiors to inferiors. It also continued to be used by the poets. Later, the plural became common among friends, and finally was also used in addressing inferiors.

367. In the language of literature, especially poetry, a traditional use of *thou* beside *you* has been more or less

common since Middle English times. The ordinary state-
ment that the older distinctive use of *thou* and *you* occurs in
Shakespeare is inaccurate, as shown by careful investigation.
There are, however, occasional references to a use of *thou*
as a term of reproach, for example in *Twelfth Night*, III, 2,
48. How long the older singular remained in use among
common people in England is difficult to say. The speech
of the Friends, or Quakers, is in this respect no criterion,
since their usage is in imitation of biblical language and is
retained as more or less of a religious obligation.

368. In the older inflection *ye* was nominative and *you*
accusative. The two forms remained thus distinguished in
case through Middle and early Modern English. In Shake-
speare's time, however, *you* was often used for *ye* and some-
times *ye* for *you*. Later, the original accusative *you* established
itself as both nominative and accusative, while *ye* became
archaic and poetic. There are to-day, therefore, two para-
digms for the second personal pronoun, one in common use
with *you* (*your*), *you* in both singular and plural ; the other
with *thou* (*thy*), *thee*, in the singular, and *ye* (*your*), *you*, in
the plural. The older *ye* in the nominative accounts for
some forms which occur in the early literature and are
still colloquial or dialectal. Thus, in its weak form, *ye* not
only shortened its vowel, but sometimes lost initial *y*, as
in the colloquial *how do you do*, phonetically *hau d i dū*.
The weak form is also preserved in the older and dialectal
harkee, lookee, thankee.

369. The displacement of the original nominative *ye* by
the accusative *you* was due to analogy with nouns, which
have the same form for nominative and accusative. A

similar tendency is shown in the first personal pronoun, the nominative of which is sometimes used for the accusative, and *vice versa*.   Such forms are not uncommon in Shakespeare, as in the examples,

> "My father hath no child but *I*," *As You Like It*, I, 2, 18;
> "Is she as tall as *me ?*" *Antony*, III, 3, 14.

These forms also occur in dialects, and 'it is *me*' is said to be good colloquial English in Britain.   The latter is less common in America, owing to the influence of the schools. Other dialectal forms belonging with those here noticed are exemplified by such expressions as 'between you and *I*,' '*me* and John saw it.'

370. The third personal pronoun was declined in Old English as follows : —

	SINGULAR.				PLURAL.	
	Masc.	*Neut.*		*Fem.*	(*All Genders.*)	
N.	he, hē	hit		hēo, hīe, hī	N.A.	hīe, hēo, hī
G.		his		hiere, hire	G.	hiera, hira
D.I.		him		hiere, hire	D.I.	him, heom
A.	hi(e)ne	hit		hīe, hī, hēo		

The changes are here more considerable than in the case of the other personal pronouns.   In general, nothing of the plural remains in standard English, while the singular feminine nominative and neuter genitive have been replaced by other forms.   Besides, the masculine and feminine datives have replaced the accusatives as in the other pronouns, although the neuter accusative has been retained through likeness to the nominative.

371. With the displacement of the old accusative by the dative, the masculine singular remained as at present. In English dialects, however, an accusative *'un* corresponds to a weak form of OE. *hine*. The neuter nominative-accusative *it* instead of *hit*, is due to a weak form without *h*. The original neuter genitive *his* remained to early Modern English times. For example, the English Bible of 1611 used the genitive *his*, as in Gen. 1 : 12, or substituted the phrase *thereof*. Later, *it* was sometimes used for the genitive, as in *Lear*, I, 4, 235, but gradually *its* established itself.

372. The feminine *she* of Modern English is derived, not from the third personal pronoun, but from the feminine demonstrative *sēo*, which before 1150 began to replace the regular form. In Chaucer's time it had become fully established with the spelling *she* (*shee*) as now, the *s* having become palatalized to *sh*. An old form with initial *h* still remains in English dialects, as in Lancashire *ho*, pronounced like *he-* of *her*. The dative *her* became accusative as in masculine forms.

373. Owing to the confusion with the singular in Middle English, the plural of the third personal pronoun was replaced by plural forms of the demonstrative. Moreover, it is necessary to assume that, as far as vowels are concerned, English *they*, *their*, are derived from Norse *ðei(r)*, *ðeira*, rather than from OE. *ðā*, *ðāra*. The dative-accusative *them* might have sprung from either OE. *ðǣm*, or Norse *ðeim*, by shortening of the vowel or diphthong. The nominative *they* first established itself. It is found in Chaucer beside the genitive *here* and dative-accusative *hem*. By the end of the fifteenth century *their*, *them*, had displaced *her*,

and *hem*, except as the weak form of the latter is preserved in later writings with the spelling *'em*. The latter is also a dialectal form at the present day.

The Reflexive Pronouns

374. Old English, unlike Latin, had no independent reflexive pronoun, but used instead the corresponding forms of the personal pronoun. The same usage continued in Middle and early Modern English, but in general the personal pronoun has been strengthened by the addition of the emphatic *self*, so that *myself, ourselves, himself*, etc., are the ordinary reflexives. These compound forms were originally made up of *self* and the dative-accusative of the personal pronouns, as in *himself, itself, herself, themselves*. But in Middle English *mēself, thēself*, through their weak forms with short vowels, became *myself, thyself*, all idea of the original syntax having been lost. By analogy of these plurals *ourself, yourself* were formed, and in early Modern English, under the influence of nouns ending in *f*, § 326, the plurals *ourselves, yourselves, themselves*. In Shakespeare, *ourself* is used with the royal *we, ourselves* as the ordinary plural. In dialectal English *hisself, theirselves* are also used by analogy of *myself, ourselves*.

The Possessive Pronouns

375. It has been pointed out, § 363, that the so-called possessive cases of the personal pronouns usually represent, not the old genitives, but possessive pronouns derived from them. This would not be evident from present English

usage. In Middle English, however, the possessives from which our modern forms have sprung were regularly inflected like adjectives, so that they could not have been genitives. This is the principal reason for a discussion of the possessive pronouns as such.

376. The possessive pronouns of Old English, *mīn*, *ðīn*, *sīn*, were formed from genitives of the personal pronouns, and from the stem of an old reflexive cognate with Latin *suus*. These possessives were declined in Old English like strong adjectives, § 338. But the possessive *sīn* was seldom used, its place being supplied by the genitives of the third personal pronoun. In Middle English, the latter followed the analogy of other possessives in becoming inflected.

377. In early Middle English, the forms *mīn* and *thīn*, like the indefinite *an*, § 355, began to lose final *n* before words beginning with a consonant, giving rise to the forms *my* and *thy*. The *n*-forms were always retained when the pronouns were used absolutely, as in *the book is mine*. In Modern English, *my* has supplanted the *n*-form except when used absolutely, but *mine* before vowels is found in early Modern English, as in Shakespeare and the Bible, and it may still be used in poetry. On the contrary, the *n*-forms were extended by analogy in Middle English, giving rise to *hisn*, *hern*, *theirn*, *yourn*. These are found in the Wyclif Bible (1384), but they have been kept only in dialects. In early Middle English, by analogy of *his* and of nouns in the genitive used absolutely, some of the possessives also began to take final *s*, as *ours*, *yours*, *hers*, *theirs*. The last mentioned, *theirs*, is as old as the time of Orm, the last of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

378. The possessive pronouns of modern English are therefore *my, mine ;* archaic *thy, thine; our, ours ; your, yours ; his ; its ; her, hers ; their, theirs.* Of these the forms used absolutely are those in *-n, mine, thine,* and those in *-s, ours, yours, his, its, hers, theirs.*

The Demonstrative Pronouns

379 There were two demonstrative pronouns in Old English declined as follows : —

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.	
	Masc.	*Neut.*	*Fem.*		*(All Genders.)*
N.	sē, se	ðæt	sēo	N.A.	ðā
G.	ðæs		ðǣre	G.	ðāra (ðǣra)
D.	ðǣm		ðǣre	D.I.	ðǣm
A.	ðone	ðæt	ðā		
I.	ðȳ, ðon				
N.	ðēs	ðis	ðēos	N.A.	ðās
G.	ðises		ðisse	G.	ðissa
D.	ðiosum, ðissum		ðisse	D.I.	ðiosum, ðissum
A.	ðiosne, ðisne	ðis	ðās		
I.	ðȳs, ðīs				

380. The first of these was used as a definite article in Old English. Later, the *sē, sēo* forms became *ðē* (*ðēo*), by analogy of the many pronominal forms with initial *ð*. In Middle English, the form *ðē* (*the*) remained the definite article, singular and plural, while the neuter *that* retained demonstrative sense. The plural of *that* was supplied by *thō* (OE. *ðā*) until, by analogy of plurals in *s*, it became *those* as at present. The neuter of the second demonstrative accounts for Modern English *this*. The Middle

English plural of *this* was at first *thōs*(OE. *ðās*), but two other forms, *thise* and *thēs*, were also used. The form *thēs* became Modern English *these* by regular vowel changes.

381. While the many forms of these two Old English demonstratives have been reduced to *the, that, this* and their plurals, some traces of the earlier case forms remain in stereotyped expressions. The old dative is found in the Shakespearean 'for *the* nonce' (ME. *nones*), which was originally 'for *then* ones,' *then* being the OE. *ðǣm*. The dialectal expression '*the* tother' is for '*that* other,' with *that* in the weaker sense of the article. In '*the* more, *the* better' and similar expressions, *the* is an Old English instrumental (*ðȳ*, ME. *the*) used adverbially. It is also probable that the Old English dative plural occurs in the dialectal '*them* books.' Finally the ME. *thise*, plural of *this*, remains in such expressions as '*this* hundred years,' '*this* twelve month.'

382. One other Old English demonstrative is sometimes found in older literature and dialectally. This is *yon*, as in *yon house*. While not common as a demonstrative in the oldest period, it is not infrequent in Middle and early Modern English. Compare Shakespeare's " Nerissa, cheer *yon* stranger," *Merchant of Venice*, III, 2, 240. Besides, *yonder* is also used dialectally with demonstrative force, and this is more or less directly derived from the older *yon*.

383. The pronoun of identity in Old English was *ilca*, now preserved only in the Scotch and occasional English *ilk*. The intensive pronoun corresponding to Latin *ipse*, is *self*, OE. *seolf*. In Old English this followed its noun or pronoun and was inflected like an adjective, but later came

to be attached to the personal pronouns used in a reflexive sense, § 374. *Self* could precede a noun in Old English compounds, as in *self-will*, and this use is also found in Modern English ; compare Shakespeare's *self-affairs*, *self-charity*, *self-danger*, and present English *self-conceit*, *self-help*. In Old English *self* could also be compounded with adjectives, and there are still many words made up in this way, as *self-same*, *self-acting*. In Shakespeare occur numerous examples of *self* as a noun, ' death's second *self*,' sonnet 73, ' Tarquin's *self*,' *Coriolanus*, II, 2, 98.

The Interrogative Pronouns

384. The simple interrogative in Old English had but two forms for gender and one for both numbers as follows : —

	Masculine — Feminine.	*Neuter.*
N.	hwā	hwæt
G.	hwæs	hwæs
D.	hwǣm, hwām	hwǣm, hwām
A.	hwone	hwæt
I.	—	hwȳ

Three of these forms are now preserved with personal reference, *who*, (*whose*), *whom*, the dative having become dative-accusative, and the genitive being restricted to possessive use as in the case of the personal pronouns.

385. The confusion of *ye*, *you* in the Elizabethan age, § 368, had its counterpart in the confusion of *who* and *whom*, so that the former was frequently used for the latter as at present in the colloquial ' *Who* did you see ?' Numerous examples occur in Shakespeare, as " *Who* does the wolf

love?" *Coriolanus*, II, 1, 8; "For *who* love I so much?"
Macbeth, II, 6, 30; "To *who?*" *Othello*, I, 2, 52. As in
Old English, the interrogative *who* is always used substantively.

386. The Modern English *what* is still neuter when used
substantively. Like *who*, it was used only as a substantive
in Old English; thus *hwæt monna* 'what of men,' was
equivalent to 'what sort of men.' In Middle English the
syntactical relation of this genitive was lost sight of, and
what became an adjective pronoun of all genders, as at
present in *what man, what house. Whose* has now been
restricted to personal use. Here may also be mentioned
the interrogative adverb *why*, originally an instrumental form
of the interrogative pronoun.

387. There were in Old English two other interrogatives,
which have become modern *which* (OE. *hwelc, hwilc <*
*hwā-līc 'who-like'), and *whether* (OE. *hwæðer*) 'which
of two.' The pronoun *which*, like *what*, has become an
adjective, while still retaining its original substantive use.
In both cases it is invariable in form for gender, number,
and case. The pronoun *whether* is not now used, although
there are many examples of it in the older modern literature,
as in "*Whether* of them twain did the will of his father?"
Matthew 21 : 31.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUNS

388. In Old English there was no simple relative pronoun, as in Latin, for example, but its place was supplied by
the demonstrative *sē, sēo, ðæt*, § 379, by the relative particle
ðe, or by a union of the two *sē ðe*, etc. Of these older pro-

nouns only the relative *that*, the neuter of the older demonstrative, remained as the usual relative of Middle and Early Modern English. In later times, *that* has been partly supplanted by other relatives in literature, but it retains its older usage colloquially, conversation seldom employing *who*, *which*, except as interrogatives or indefinites.

389. The remaining relatives of Modern English, *who* (*what*), *which*, spring from the Old English interrogative-indefinites *hwā*, *hwelc* (*hwilc*). *Which*, invariable for gender, number, and case, began to be used relatively in early Middle English and finally became fully established as a relative for all genders. The older usage in reference to persons is illustrated by the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father *which* art in heaven." Later, *who* gradually displaced *which* in reference to persons.

390. The present established use of *who* began much later than that of *which*. It is true that there are occasional examples of *who* as early as the twelfth century, but it was not commonly used as a relative until the sixteenth, and not fully established until the seventeenth century. Ben Jonson in his *English Grammar* acknowledged only the relative *which*, although *who* was beginning to be used, as shown by the plays of Shakespeare. Even in Addison's time, *who* had not become common, as indicated by the fact that the great stylist recommended its more extensive use in the *Spectator* of May 30, 1711.

391. For a time after *who* took its place as a relative beside *which*, both were used indiscriminately for persons and things, as often in Shakespeare. Finally *which* was limited, as at present, to references other than to persons,

and *who* was employed for persons only, as when an interrogative pronoun. This distinction was urged in the *Spectator* mentioned above, where it was proposed, with little deference to the older language, to change the first clause of the Lord's Prayer into "Our Father *who* art in heaven."

392. In Middle English, when *who* was beginning to be used as a relative, the neuter *what* was also occasionally so used. For example, in the *Ormulum* occurs "They may show you all *what* it saith and meaneth." In early Modern English also a similar relative use of *what* is occasionally found, as in *Henry VIII*, V, 1, 125–6,

> "I fear nothing
> *What* can be said against me."

Such expressions, however, are considered vulgarisms at present, so that *what* cannot be regarded as a relative pronoun in standard English. The common explanation of *what* as a relative, because it is equivalent to *that which*, depends on logical, not grammatical, relations.

393. *Whose* and *whom*, the present genitive and accusative of *who*, spring from the old genitive and dative. They were also common before the nominative *who* had established itself, perhaps because they belonged originally to *what* as well as to *who*. As *which* was more frequent than *who* in a relative sense, *whose* and *whom* became attached to *which* when referring to persons, while the accusative *which* was restricted to the neuter gender. This use is found in Orm and is common in Chaucer. At the same time, *of which*, *of whom* began to assume some of the func-

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tions of the older genitive, and *whose* was used almost exclusively in a possessive sense.

394. Later, when *who* came into general use as a relative, *whose* and *whom*, by reason of likeness in form as well as through the influence of the interrogative, associated themselves with the personal relative. The genitive *whose* was then restricted to personal use, although *whose* as a neuter genitive is sometimes found in literature, especially poetry. As in the case of the interrogative, there has been occasional confusion between *who* and *whom*, the former being sometimes used as an accusative and the latter more rarely as a nominative. Examples are common in Shakespeare, and Milton wrote "Beelzebub . . . than *whom*, Satan except, none higher sat," *Paradise Lost*, II, 299–300. The explanation of *than* as a preposition in this expression is of course historically inaccurate.

The Indefinite Pronouns

395. The indefinite pronouns are so named because they refer to general and usually unexpressed antecedents. Like demonstratives, they may be employed as adjectives. They are derived from pronouns, adjectives, or in a few cases from nouns. In Old English the indefinites were numerous, and to these there have been some additions in modern times. Indeed, any adjective, constantly used substantively, either becomes a noun or partakes of the nature of an indefinite pronoun.

396. In Old English, as in the classical languages, the interrogative pronouns were also indefinites, or more accurately, perhaps, there were interrogative-indefinite pronouns

of the same form. *Who, what,* and *which* retain an indefinite use in Modern English. A good example of *who* as indefinite is Shakespeare's "*Who* steals my purse steals trash," *Othello*, III, 3, 157. *What,* the old neuter of *who,* is more frequently indefinite, as in '*what* you say is true.' *Which* is less frequently indefinite, but is certainly so in such expressions as '*which* is right, is uncertain.' In Old English there was also an indefinite *whether* 'which of two,' but it is no longer used.

397. Besides these simple indefinites, there are compounds, as *whoso, whosoever, whoever, whatso, whatsoever, whatever, whichever,* etc. These have their correspondences in Old English forms with *swā* 'so' before as well as after the simple indefinite, as *swā-hwā-swā* 'whoso.' In Middle English such forms lost the prefix *swā,* becoming *whoso, whatso,* etc. In the same period they were sometimes strengthened by the addition of *ever,* making *whosoever,* etc., and finally *whoever, whatever, whichever* were also formed. In addition there occur in Shakespeare and in present dialectal English such forms as *whosomever, whatsomever.* Some original compounds of *whether* have been greatly obscured by phonetic changes and analogy, as *either,* OE. *āghwæðer* (*ǣgðer*), and *neither,* apparently a new formation by analogy of *either.* From two other forms, *āhwæðer* 'one of two' and *nāhwæðer,* its corresponding negative, the Modern English conjunctions *or, nor* are derived.

398. The indefinites derived from adjectives are numerous. Of Old English origin are *some,* OE. *sum; such,* OE. *swelc, swilc; each,* OE. *ǣlc.* To these were added in the Middle English period *other, both, many, few, little, all,*

enough, several, certain. All these are from Old English adjectives except *both*, originally a compound, and *several, certain*, which are from French. *Some* was formerly used as a pronoun more commonly than at present, and still retains pronominal use in the plural, as *some say*, ' he went with *some* of his friends.' *Certain* had a similar use in Middle and early Modern English, but is now archaic as a pronoun. *Enough* is pronominal in such expressions as ' *enough* is as good as a feast.'

399. These simple adjectival pronouns occur in compounds as *somebody, something, somewhat, every, another.* Strictly *some one, one another, each other* are also compounds, although they are written as separate words. Here may be mentioned the indefinite *any*, derived from the Old English numeral *ān* ' one.' Of later pronominal use are *one, none*, in ' *one* said,' ' *none* came.' Compound indefinites are *any one, anybody, anything, nobody, nothing*, and the tautological *no one*, § 355. The indefinites *one, other*, have assumed inflected forms in the genitive singular and in the plural, as *one's, ones*.

400. Some of the compound indefinites, as *somebody, anything*, are indefinite phrases made up of an adjective and a noun. One or two such compounds are Old English, as *aught, naught* (OE. *āwiht, nāwiht*), the last part of which is the noun *wight*, ' creature,' ' thing.' In addition to these, Old English used *man* as an indefinite, like German *man* in *mon sagt* ' one says,' ' they say.' This is preserved in the plural, as *men say*, and sometimes in the singular with an article as in " Misery acquaints *a man* with strange bed-fellows," *Tempest*, II, 2, 41.

CHAPTER XVII

THE VERB

401. Certain prominent characteristics of the Teutonic verb have been mentioned in § 36. In general, the Old English verb conformed to all these simple characteristics. It had a single inflected voice; two tenses; two complete modes besides an imperative in the present tense only; two numbers; an infinitive, and two verbal adjectives, the present and perfect participles. The changes in the verb since Old English times have been of two kinds, one toward simplicity, and the other toward complexity. The first is shown in the loss of inflections, the second in the building up of the compound forms. These will receive proper attention in detail. Especially important in the history of the English verb are those forms which have come down from the earliest time, together with the changes which they have undergone.

402. The Old English verb comprised two principal groups, the strong and the weak (see foot-note to page 172). The strong verb, including some with reduplicated preterits, distinguished its preterit tense by a different vowel from the present. The weak verb distinguished the same form by a verbal suffix, the antecedent of the present *-ed*, *-d* (*t*). The strong class was the smaller of the two, even in Old English, and has since been constantly decreasing in

number.   The weak class, on the other hand, has been con-
stantly on the increase, since new verbs and those borrowed
from foreign languages have usually been formed on the
model of the weak verb.

403. The terms strong and weak, applied to verbs as to
nouns and adjectives, might be thought to indicate the
larger and smaller classes respectively.   This is not strictly
true.   In the case of nouns and adjectives, for example, the
strong forms were more numerous or were more frequently
used, and have therefore become the predominant forms in
the history of English.   In the case of verbs, the weak forms
have always been the most numerous, and therefore have
naturally gained the advantage over the others.   For this
reason the weak verb will be treated first.

The Weak Verb

404. The weak verb in the Teutonic languages is dis-
tinguished by the dental preterit, as it is called ; that is, by
a preterit ending containing a dental consonant, the *-ed*,
-d(*t*) of Modern English.   Of the origin of this dental
preterit and the manner in which it came into use, little is
certainly known.   An older theory regarded it as developed
from the root of the verb *do*.   Such a form as *loved*, for
example, was supposed to be equivalent to *love + did*.   This
theory, however, is not so commonly believed as of old,
although scholars are still not agreed as to the exact origin
of the dental suffix.   It is at least certain that the dental
preterit originated in an Indo-European suffix, and has
become thus specialized only in the Teutonic tongues.

405. Weak verbs in Modern English are usually regarded as belonging to one large class. They are described by modern grammarians as forming preterit and perfect participle by adding *-ed* or *-d* to the verbal root. This general statement, however, is far from accurate, as may be shown by numerous examples. For instance, the weak verb *have* — *had* does not exactly come under this form of statement, while *feed* — *fed*, *cut* — *cut*, do not add *-ed* or *-d* to any of their forms. The verb *feed* shows change of vowel in preterit and participle, although it is not a strong verb, and *cut* is invariable in its principal parts. It is clear, therefore, that weak verbs have certain irregularities requiring to be examined and described. To understand these peculiarities it is necessary, as in the case of nouns and adjectives, to go back to Old English forms.

406. Old English weak verbs were of three classes according to formation and conjugation. Verbs of the first class formed their preterits and past participles by adding to the present stem the suffixes *-ede* (*de*, *te*) and *-ed* respectively. Those of the second class added the suffixes *-ode* for the preterit and *-od* for the participle. Those of the third class were few in number and, though differing in some other particulars, agreed with some verbs of the first class in adding *-de* for the preterit and *-ed* for the participle. Examples of verbs of the first class with *-ede* (*de*) in the preterit are OE. *dynnan* — *dynede* — *gedyned*,[1] 'din'; *dēman* — *dēmde* — *gedēmed*, 'deem'; with *-te* after breath consonants, *settan* — *sette* — *gesetted*, 'set'; *dyppan* — *dypte*

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[1] The prefix *-ge* was added to the past participles of uncompounded verbs, though often omitted, especially in the case of strong verbs.

— *gedypped*, ' dip.' An example of a verb of the second class is *lōcian — lōcode — gelōcod*, ' look.'

407. By regular phonetic changes in late Old and early Middle English times, the endings of verbs of the second class became *-ede* for the preterit and *-ed* for the participle, so that they were exactly like certain verbs of the first class. In early Middle English, therefore, weak verbs constituted two classes, the first having the ending *-ede*, the second *-de(te)* in the preterit. The participles of both classes ended in *-ed*. During Middle English most verbs of the first of these classes lost the connecting vowel *e* in the preterit *-ede* ending, and thus became like verbs of the second class. Later in the same period, final *e* of the preterit was also lost, and *e* of the participial *-ed* was usually syncopated, the longer form remaining only in poetry and sometimes in adjectives derived from participles. At the same time, *d* of the past participle in most verbs ending in a breath consonant became *t*, so that preterit and participle thus became one in form.

408. Owing to these changes, regular weak verbs in Modern English are invariable in preterit and participle, the three stems of Old English having become two. They form their preterit-participle by adding the suffix *-d*, if ending in a vowel or voice consonant, or *-t* if ending in a breath consonant. In either case the suffix is usually written *-ed*, as in *loved*, *dipped*. Besides such regular weak verbs, there are in Modern English several minor classes which are more or less irregular. These usually depend upon irregularities of development which require explanation in detail.

IRREGULAR WEAK VERBS

409. While the syncopation of *e* in the participial suffix
-ed took place with great regularity, it was resisted in many
verbs ending in *d* or *t*. Later, these participial forms with
syllabic *-ed* were introduced into the preterits, so that most
verbs ending in *d* or *t* form the preterit-participle in syllabic
-ed, as *bode — boded, greet — greeted*. To this class belong,
not only verbs from Old English, but all verbs of late forma-
tion if ending in *d* or *t*, as well as most borrowed verbs of
the same sort.

410. On the other hand, in a small number of verbs end-
ing in *d* or *t*, the Middle English preterits ending in *-de(te)*
replaced the participles in *-ed*. Then, by the loss of final *e*,
these preterit-participles became like the presents, except
for shortening of a long vowel which had sometimes taken
place. Some of these verbs, therefore, show a different
vowel in the present and preterit-participle, while others are
invariable in form. They are still weak verbs, however,
although sometimes incorrectly classed as strong verbs.

411. Irregular weak verbs of this sort ending in *d* are,

bleed — bled	lead — led	shred — shred
breed — bred	read — read	speed — sped
feed — fed	rid — rid	spread — spread
hide — hid	shed — shed	wed — wed

Of these, *hide* has also a participle *hidden* by analogy of
strong verbs. By analogy of verbs of this class, *plead*, a
word borrowed from French, has a preterit-participle with
short vowel, beside one with syllabic *-ed*. *Shred, speed*, and
wed also have forms corresponding to verbs in § 409.

412. Irregular weak verbs ending in *t* are,

bet — bet	light — lit 'make light'	slit — slit
cast — cast	light — lit 'alight'	spit — spit, § 431
cost — cost	meet — met	split — split
cut — cut	put — put	sweat — sweat
hit — hit	quit — quit	thrust — thrust
hurt — hurt	set — set	wet — wet
knit — knit	shut — shut	whet — whet

Most of these are from Old English or Norse, but *cut* is of uncertain origin, and *bet, cost, quit* are from Old French. Some have regular forms in *-ed* as *bet, knit, light* 'make light,' *light* 'alight,' *quit, slit, split, sweat, wet, whet*. *Wont* 'accustomed,' itself a perfect participle from ME. *woned*, was formerly made into an invariable verb, while it had also the double preteritive form *wonted*. The latter is still used as an adjective. In early Modern English and dialectally *heat* — *heat* (*hĕt*) occurs, as in *King John IV*, I, 61.

413. Weak verbs ending in a breath consonant have always added *-t* in the preterit, § 406, although this fact is often obscured by the spelling *-ed*. Some verbs have kept this original *-t*, but also show shortening of the root vowel, as *creep, keep, leap, sleep, sweep, weep, cleave, leave, reave* (*bereave*), and *lose*. *Leap* and *bereave* have regular forms with unchanged vowels. Some verbs have *-t* in preterit and past participle by change of an original *-d*. They are,

bend — bent	feel — felt	mean — meant
blend — blent	gild — gilt	rend — rent
build — built	gird — girt	send — sent
burn — burnt	kneel — knelt	smell — smelt
deal — dealt	lean — leant	spell — spelt
dream — dreamt	learn — learnt	spend — spent
dwell — dwelt	lend — lent	spoil — spoilt

Of these *deal, dwell, feel, lend, mean, send, spend* have t forms only, while the others have also forms in -*d* or syllabic -*ed*. *Went*, originally preterit of *wend*, but now used exclusively as preterit of *go*, shows a similar change.

414. A few important verbs were somewhat irregular in Old English and have remained so to the present time. The principal irregularity is due to mutation of the present stem, so that present and preterit-participle appear with different vowels. Here belong,

bring — brought	teach — taught
buy — bought	tell — told
(be)seech — (be)sought	think — thought 'think'
seek — sought	think — thought 'seem'
sell — sold	work — (wrought)

The verbs *reach* and *stretch* once belonged here, but are now regular, as is *work* more commonly. Three verbs from foreign sources were influenced by this small group, so that they have taken analogous forms in preterit-participle. They are *catch* — *caught, distract* — *distraught, freight* — *fraught*. In the case of the last two, regular forms, *distracted, freighted*, have replaced the earlier *distraught, fraught*, except as the latter are used as adjectives.

415. A few other verbs show vowel shortening in the preterit, although otherwise regular. They are *flee* — *fled; say* — *said; shoe* — *shod; hear* — *heard*. Three weak verbs are slightly irregular in other ways. In *have* — *had, make* — *made*, the final consonant of the root has been lost in preterit and participle. The verb *clothe* has an irregular preterit *clad* beside the regular form *clothed*. The irregular form is perhaps a borrowing from Norse.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE VERB (Continued)

416. In the preceding chapter the forms of the majority of English verbs have been discussed ; that is, those belonging to the so-called weak class. There remain to be considered the interesting class of strong verbs, together with a few relics of an Indo-European group with the suffix -*mi* in the present indicative first singular. These, though not nearly so numerous as those of the weak class, include some of the most common verbs, and those which have suffered many changes. They therefore require to be treated in detail.

THE STRONG VERB

417. The Old English strong verb consisted of two groups, those which distinguished their preterits by different vowels from the presents, and those which once had reduplicated preterits. The latter also had different vowels in present and preterit, but this was not their most characteristic feature. To the first group belonged six classes, distinguished by the vowels of four stems,— the present, the preterit singular, the preterit plural, and the past participle. The vowels of the four stems in the different classes may be seen from the following table. Vowel variations in any stem are due to special Old English changes.

CLASS	PRESENT	PRET. SG.	PRET. PL.	PARTICIPLE
I	ī	ā	i	i
II	ēo(ū)	ēa	u	o
III	i, e, eo	a(o), ea	u	u, o
IV	e	æ	ǣ	o
V	e (i, ie)	æ	ǣ	e
VI	a	ō	ō	a

The reduplicating verbs differed from these in having the same vowel in present and participle on the one side, and in preterit singular and plural on the other.

418. The strong verbs have been much influenced by analogy. In the first place, their number has been greatly reduced. In Old English there were about three hundred strong verbs. As this number was small compared with the number of weak verbs, the latter naturally influenced the former. So great was this influence that less than one hundred of the strong verbs remain in Modern English. In the second place, the number of stems in strong verbs has been reduced from four to three, and in some cases to two. This was also due to the influence of the weak verbs. Sometimes the preterit and past participle came to agree in form, and thus the three stems were reduced to two. The influence of analogy may also be seen in some other particulars, although in general verbs preserved to modern times have followed the regular phonetic changes of their characteristic vowels.

VERBS OF CLASS I

419. Most verbs of this class have preserved the vowel of the preterit singular. They are,

(a)bide — (a)bode — (a)bode   shrive — shrove — shriven
drive — drove — driven   smite — smote — smitten
ride — rode — ridden   stride — strode — stridden
rise — rose — risen   write — wrote — written
shine — shone — shone

To these must be added *thrive — throve — thriven* from
Norse, and *strive — strove — striven* from French, both of
which took strong forms by analogy. The verb *rive*, also
from Norse, has the participle *riven*, but is otherwise weak.
Two other verbs of Class I agree in having preserved the
vowel of the preterit plural. They are, *bite — bit — bitten*
(*bit*) and *slide — slid — slidden* (*slid*).

420. The verb *strike — struck — struck* (*stricken*), origi-
nally of Class I has apparently been influenced by verbs of
Class III, although the archaic participle *stricken* of Class I
was used in early Modern English. Two weak verbs, *chide*,
and *cleave* 'adhere,' assumed strong preterits in Middle
English, but these have been lost in modern times. The
first, *chode*, occurs in Genesis 31 : 36, and the second,
clave, by confusion with the preterit of cleave 'split' § 423,
in Genesis 34 : 3. *Chide* and another weak verb, *hide*,
have assumed strong participles, *chidden, hidden*, by analogy
of verbs of this class. A dialectal *dive — dove — dove* has
also been influenced by verbs of Class I.

421. Strong verbs of Class I show various effects of
analogy in their history. The verbs *abide* and *shine* have
perfect participles like the preterits, the older forms in
short *i* having disappeared. On the other hand, *abide*, *ride*,
write had older preterits, *abid, rid, writ*, with the vowel of
the participle. By analogy also, some verbs of this first

class have assumed weak forms, and others have become wholly weak. Thus, *shine, shrive, thrive* have weak forms more or less commonly used, and *glide, gripe, sigh, slit, spew, twit* (OE. *æt-wītan*), *writhe, whine* are always weak.

Class II

422. The verbs of this class which have remained strong are as follows : —

choose — chose — chosen   freeze — froze — frozen
cleave 'split' — clove — cloven   seethe — sod — sodden
fly — flew — flown   shoot — shot — shot

423. These verbs show great irregularities. For example, the preterit stem has apparently been influenced in most cases by the participle, and only *cleave, freeze, seethe* show regular developments in the present from OE. forms. Besides, *chosen* and *frozen* have *z* (*s*) instead of *r* as in Old English. The verb *seethe* is interesting as the only one which still preserves a consonantal change, as of *th > d*, which was found in many preterits and participles in Teutonic. By confusion with a weak verb *cleave* 'adhere,' *cleave* 'split' often takes *cleft* for preterit and participle. Both *cleave* and *seethe* also have weak forms. The remaining verbs once belonging here have become weak so far as they have been preserved. They appear with different vowels in the present, as *creep, flee, reek; brew, chew, rue; bow, sprout, crowd;* and *suck, sup, shove.*

Class III

424. The verbs of this class belonged to several well-marked subdivisions in Old English, according as their root

vowels were followed by various consonant combinations.
In general, the verbs of only one of these sub-classes have
remained strong in Modern English, those in which the
vowel was originally followed by a nasal and a consonant.
They may be separated into three groups, owing to differ-
ences arising through phonetic changes or analogy.

425. The first group includes verbs with the diphthongs
ai (written *i*) in the present stem, and *au* (written *ou*) in
preterit and participle.   Here belong,

bind — bound — bound	grind — ground — ground
find — found — found	wind — wound — wound

The verb *climb*, now usually weak, has strong forms dia-
lectally, as *clomb* and *clĭmb*.   In all verbs of this group the
original short vowels of present and preterit plural were first
lengthened and then became diphthongs.

426. The second group includes verbs that have preterits
with the vowel of *man*, from the vowel of the original pre-
terit singular, as

drink -- drank — drunk	sink — sank — sunk
(be)gin — (be)gan — (be)gun	spring — sprang — sprung
shrink — shrank — shrunk	swim — swam — swum
sing — sang — sung	

To these may be added *ring—rang—rung*, from a verb
originally weak, the archaic and defective *gin—gan*, and
run—ran—run with an irregular present.   In the eigh-
teenth century most verbs of this group had preterits with *u*,
as *drunk*, and these sometimes occur to-day colloquially as
well as in poetry.   Occasionally, two preterits are used in

different expressions, as 'John *shrank* away,' but 'the cloth *shrunk*.'

427. Verbs of the third group have preterits with the vowel of *but*, from the vowel of the original preterit plural. They are,

cling — clung — clung	sting — stung — stung
sling — slung — slung	swing — swung — swung
slink — slunk — slunk	win — won — won
spin — spun — spun	wring — wrung — wrung
stink — stunk — stunk	

To this class belong *fling — flung — flung* from the Norse, and *string — strung — strung*, which was formed in early Modern English from the substantive *string*. By analogy of the verbs above, *dig* has also assumed a preterit and participle in *u*, as *dug*, beside weak forms. This formation is late, since only weak forms occur in the Bible and Shakespeare. For *stick — stuck — stuck*, see § 429. Originally *burn* belonged to this class, but is now weak, as are *cringe* and *ding*, the latter not found in Old English. Here belongs also the poetic and archaic *swink* 'to labour,' which had weak forms as well as strong. Several of these verbs have archaic forms with *a* in the preterit.

428. The remaining verbs of Class III have become weak so far as preserved, with two exceptions, *fight — fought — fought* and *burst — burst — burst*. The latter might easily be mistaken for a weak verb like *cast, cut*, but it was originally strong and it has never had a dental preterit except in such dialectal forms as *bursted* (*busted*). *Molten* and *swollen*, the old participles of *melt* and *swell*, are now used rather as adjectives than as participles, and

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holpen, archaic participle of *help,* is no longer found except dialectally. The defective verb *worth* 'become' belonged here originally, but is now found only in such expressions as 'woe *worth* the day.'

Class IV

429. Few verbs belonged to this class in Old English and still fewer have come down to modern times. Those preserved are,

bear — bore — borne   steal — stole — stolen
break — broke — broken   tear — tore — torn
shear — (shore) — shorn

Quite irregular is *come — came — come,* from forms that were also somewhat irregular in Old English. To this class originally belonged *stecan* 'pierce,' beside which there was a weak verb *stician* 'pierce, adhere.' These were confused, and now appear as *stick — stuck — stuck,* with both meanings. The preterit and participle have been influenced by the verbs of Class III, although a weak preterit, *sticked,* existed in early Modern English, and is now found in dialects. By analogy also, *wear,* which was originally weak, has become strong, while *shear* often has weak forms.

Class V

430. Verbs of this class show considerable irregularity, owing to vowel changes and analogy. Those that have been preserved may be divided into two groups, according as they have kept the old preterit form, or have been influenced by verbs of Class IV. To the first group belong,

bid — bade — bidden	lie — lay — lain
eat — ate — eaten	see — saw — seen
give — gave — given	sit — sat — sat

431. The verb *bid* with its compound *forbid* requires a word of explanation. There were two strong verbs in Old English having some likeness in form, *biddan* 'pray, ask,' of this class, and *bēodan* 'offer, command,' of Class II. In the course of their development these were much confused and *bid — bade* assumed the meaning 'command' along with its older meaning 'ask, invite,' the last belonging especially to the participle *bidden*. Beside this, there is also an invariable verb *bid* with the meanings 'offer' and earlier 'pray.' The verb *spit*, which earlier had a preterit *spat* associating it with these verbs, is now invariable, § 412. The older forms were probably due to mixture of two weak verbs *spittan* and *spætan* with the same meaning.

432. The second group includes,

get — got — got (gotten)	tread — trod — trodden
speak — spoke — spoken	weave — wove — woven

The verbs of this group all show preterits and participles which have been influenced by those of Class IV, with which, as far as Modern English is concerned, they might be associated. The form *gotten* beside *got* is a late development, by analogy of participles in -*en*. The verbs *get*, *give*, included in this class, do not properly spring from OE. *gietan*, *giefan*, since the latter should now have initial *y*. The forms with hard *g* have probably been due to the corresponding Norse verbs, which have influenced or supplanted

the others. An old preterit *quoth* is all that now remains of an Old English verb *cweðan* belonging to Class V, its compound *bequeath* being wholly weak. Other verbs of this class that have become weak are *knead, mete, play*.

Class VI

433. The verbs of this class were few in number in Old English and still fewer are now strong. The most regular are,

heave — hove — hove	swear — swore — sworn
(for-)sake — sook — saken	wake — woke — (waked)
shake — shook — shaken	(a-)wake — woke — (waked)
stand — stood — stood	

In these verbs the participles *hove, stood*, and *sworn*, have been influenced by the vowels of the preterits, or by verbs of Class IV, and the vowels of the presents, *swear, heave*, are due to mutation. The present *stand* differs from its other forms by reason of an *n* which belonged only to the present and participle even in Old English. Two verbs, *draw — drew — drawn* and *slay — slew — slain*, also belonging here, have peculiar forms due to contraction.

434. This class now includes *take — took — taken*, which once belonged to the corresponding class in Norse and so easily associated itself with these verbs. Another verb, *stave — stove — stove*, was formed from a substantive in early Modern English, while *reeve — rove — rove*, a nautical term, is perhaps from Dutch, with strong forms by analogy. As in the other classes, several verbs originally belonging to Class VI have become weak, although some of them have old participles in -*en*. They are *ache, bake, gnaw, grave*,

lade, shape, shave, wade, wax. The old participles, now
used only as adjectives however, are *gnawn, graven, laden,
shapen, shaven.*

Verbs with Original Reduplication

435. The reduplicating verbs are interesting as forming a
connecting link between the Teutonic languages and Greek
and Latin, which also had reduplicated perfects. Yet actual
reduplication was preserved only in Gothic, although all Teu-
tonic languages show certain peculiar forms resulting from
it. Old English reduplicating verbs formed two classes by
reason of different vowels in the preterit. They differed in
another respect from most strong verbs, since their four
principal stems had but two different vowels, those of the
present and participle on the one hand, and those of the
preterit singular and plural on the other being the same.
Most of the Modern English verbs have three forms, how-
ever, owing to preservation of the participle in *-en.*

436. The reduplicating verbs which have remained strong
are as follows :

beat — beat — beaten (beat)	hold — held — held
blow — blew — blown	know — knew — known
fall — fell — fallen	let — let — let 'allow'
grow — grew — grown	throw — threw — thrown

Of these, *hold* has its participle by analogy of the preterit,
holden (*beholden*) being archaic. *Let* 'allow' has become
invariable by shortening of the present and preterit vowels.
From it must be distinguished the older *let* 'hinder,' origi-
nally a weak verb. The verb *crow,* now weak, had an

early Modern English preterit *crew*.   *Hew, mow, sow* have weak preterits, but retain the strong participles *hewn, mown, sown* beside weak forms.

437. Sometimes *hang* is said to belong here, but this is only partly true.   There were in Old English a reduplicating verb *hōn — heng — hongen* 'hang,' and a weak verb *hangian*, with similar meaning.   In Middle English these were confused, so that the present *hang* is now associated with a strong preterit and participle *hung* and a weak *hanged*. The form *hung < heng* has been influenced by verbs of Class III.   Most of the other reduplicating verbs have become weak, as *blend, claw, dread, flow, fold, glow, leap, low, row, salt, sleep, swoop, weep, wheeze, wield.*

Preteritive Presents

438. The preterits of certain verbs in Teutonic, as in other languages, have assumed a present meaning, after which the original presents were usually lost.   Examples in English are *may, can, shall;* in Latin *novi* 'I know,' *memini* 'I remember.'   Such verbs, called preteritive presents, developed in Teutonic a new weak preterit, together with a new infinitive usually from the stem of the preterit plural. The preteritive presents in the Teutonic languages were all originally strong verbs, so that their presents are inflected like strong verbs, their preterits like weak verbs.

439. The somewhat numerous forms of the older preteritive presents have been greatly reduced in number.   So far as preserved, they appear in the following table, under the various classes of strong verbs :

CLASS	INFINITIVE	PRESENT	PRETERIT
I	wit	wot	wist
			ought
III		can	could
		dare	durst
IV		shall	should
V		may	might
VI		mote	must

440. The infinitive of the first verb remains in the expression *to wit*. It appears as a verb in the King James version of the Bible 2 Cor. 8 : 1, 'we do (make) you *to wit* (know),' and in Shakespeare, *Pericles* iv. 4, 31. Shakespeare also used the analogical forms *wot'st, wots, woting*, and the plural *wot*. An irregular OE. participle *gewiss* (Ger. *gewiss*) 'certain' became ME. *iwis*, and later was supposed to be a verb and pronoun, *I wis*, as if present to *wiste*, § 109. Compare Coleridge's 'Fearfully dreaming yet *I wis*,' and Browning's 'Howe'er you wis.' The other verb of this class, *ought*, is now present and preterit in use. From the same root are the weak verb *owe* 'be in debt for' and *own*, an adjective and late weak verb. Dialectally *ought* appears as a past participle in the expression ' had ought.'

441. The preterit *could* is derived from OE. *cūðe* (< *cunðe*), ME. *coude*, the spelling with *l* being due to analogy of *would, should*, § 235. Connected with it is the old participle *cūð* 'known,' now found in *uncouth*, but with change of meaning. The verb *dare* has become weak, and the older *durst*, with its dialectal variant *da(r)st*, is sometimes present in use.

442. The original meaning of *shall* was ' be obliged,

ought,' and this is still found in certain uses of *should*. The old participle of *may* is found in the adjective *main*, as in '*main* strength.' Beside *might*, there is also an archaic preterit *mought*. As a present, *mote* is found only in the archaic 'so *mote* it be.' *Must*, like *ought*, is now present as well as preterit.

443. The preterits of such verbs originally assumed present use owing to quite natural changes in meaning. This may be illustrated by almost any of them. For example, Latin *novi* meant 'I have become acquainted with,' which is equivalent in meaning to 'I know.' It was not unnatural, therefore, that Latin *novi* should have come to be used with present meaning. So with all of the Old English verbs. New changes due to this same cause are also found in Modern English. For example, *ought* and *must* have assumed present use, though originally weak preterits. The same is true of *durst* in older Modern English, and a similar tendency is shown by some uses of *should*. A colloquial preteritive present of late formation is *have got* in the sense of 'have, possess.'

Verbs with Original Presents in -*mi*

444. A few Indo-European verbs took an ending -*mi* in the first person singular of the present indicative, instead of the usual ending -*o*. Examples are Latin *sum* and English *am*, the latter showing the only relic in Modern English of this older suffix. To this class of *mi*-verbs belong *be* (*am*), *do*, *go*, and *will*.

445. The verb *to be*, as it is called, is made up of three different roots, which appear in Modern English *am* (*is*,

are), *be* (*being, been*), and *was* (*were*). Each had numerous forms in Old English, as a present indicative and subjunctive-optative,[1] while *be* and *was* had also an infinitive, imperative, and participle, and *was* a preterit indicative and subjunctive-optative. Of these, there remain in Modern English only a present indicative from the first root, a present subjunctive, infinitive, and imperative from the second root, and a preterit from the third root. The participle *been* is a new formation of Middle English times. The forms of the roots are various, owing to many phonetic changes. Thus *s* of *is* has entirely disappeared from *am*, and has become *r* in *are*.

446. The third root, which now forms the preterit *was*— *were* of the verb *to be*, is not strictly a *mi*-verb. It was really a strong verb of the fifth class with all forms except the past participle. Only the preterit has been kept in Modern English, except that the imperative occurs in the word *wassail*, originally ' be whole, happy.' The *r* of *were* springs from an original *s*, as in *are* < *is*.

447. The verbs *will*, *do*, and *go* also belonged to the *mi*-verbs originally, although the *mi* ending has not been kept in English. The corresponding Latin verbs retain the *m* suffix in the subjunctive, as *velim, fiam, eam*. The verb *will* is now defective. Its preterit *would* (OE. *wolde*) has been formed by analogy of weak verbs. The preterit *did* (OE. *dyde*) is apparently a reduplicated form. The verb *go* is now found only in the present system and in the perfect

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[1] The term subjunctive-optative is used for a mode which had the uses of the subjunctive and potential in Modern English, or the subjunctive and optative in Greek.

participle *gone*.   Its old preterit *ēode* is found as *yeede*, *yede* in Chaucer and Spenser, but has since been supplanted by *went*, an old preterit of *wend*, § 413.

448. There were once certain anomalous forms of these verbs due to combinations with the negative.   The Old English negative *ne* was prefixed to some verbs in Old English, notably *was* and *will*.   These forms have not been preserved, however, except the negative form of *will* in the Shakespearean *willy nilly* 'will he, nill (*ne* + *will*) he.' The negative *not* (OE. *nāht*, *nōht*, ' nothing '), used after certain verbs, gradually united with them through lack of stress, as in *can't*, *mayn't*, *shan't* < *shall not* with loss of *l*. *Won't* < *will not* shows change of *i* to *u* (written *o*) after *w*, § 107.   *Don't* does not rightly belong to the third singular, but is often used for *doesn't* by analogy.

CHAPTER XIX

VERBAL INFLECTION

449. The simplicity of our Modern English verbal inflection is a striking proof of the tendency to uniformity which has characterized the development of English. The Old English inflectional system, though not as elaborate as that of the classical languages, included many different forms. The results of the changes that have taken place may be summed up as follows. The infinitive, imperative, and subjunctive-optative do not differ from the indicative, except that the subjunctive-optative sometimes has a third singular without inflectional ending. The singular and plural of the preterit are alike, and the same is true of the present with exception of the third singular indicative. The past participle is the same as the preterit in all weak, and in many strong, verbs. The numerous forms of the old English verb have been reduced to four for weak verbs, as *stir — stirs — stirring — stirred;* and five (often four) for strong verbs, as *sing — sings — singing — sang — sung.* This does not include certain anomalous verbs, as *be* and *go,* in which the forms are somewhat more numerous, as shown in §§ 445–447.

450. The two tenses of the Teutonic verb, § 37, as they appeared in the various modes formed two tense systems,

the present and preterit. The present system was inflected
in Old English as follows, minor differences being disre-
garded. Examples are given of typical weak and strong
verbs through all forms.

		WEAK	STRONG
		INDICATIVE	
Singular		1 dēme 'deem'	binde 'bind'
		2 dēm(e)st	bindest
		3 dēm(e)ð	bindeð
Plural	1, 2, 3	dēmað	bindað
		SUBJUNCTIVE-OPTATIVE	
Singular	1, 2, 3	dēme	binde
Plural	1, 2, 3	dēmen	binden
		IMPERATIVE	
Singular	2	dēm	bind (binde)
Plural	1	dēman	bindan
	2	dēmað	bindað
		INFINITIVE	
		dēman(-anne)	bindan(-anne)
		PARTICIPLES	
		dēmende	bindende

451. Most of the inflectional changes in the verb are
accounted for by the weakening of unstressed *a* to *e*, the
loss of final *n*, and then of final *e* as in other inflectional
forms. Other changes require more extended explanation.
In the singular, such forms as *deemest* and *deemeth* are
archaic, or remain in poetry and only occasionally in prose.
The place of the first was taken by the second plural when

you took the place of *thou*, § 366. The place of the second was taken in early Modern English by a form ending in *-s*, as *deems, binds*. This is a phonetic development, not of the Midland form in *-eth*, but of the *-es* form of the Northern dialect. The present plural without inflectional ending, as *bind*, comes from a Midland form in *-en* which in Middle English had displaced the older *-eth* (OE. *að*). This ME. *-en* ending was probably due to analogy of the OE. subjunctive-optative *-en* suffix. In late Middle English, by the loss of final *n* and then of final *e*, the plural assumed its present form.

452. By similar changes the OE. subjunctive-optative became the same as the indicative, except in the third person singular. On this account, no doubt, the subjunctive-optative has been gradually losing ground in Modern English, and its place has been supplied by the indicative and by compound forms with auxiliaries. The imperative retained in Middle English a plural in *-eth*, and sometimes a singular in *-e*, but later lost the endings of both singular and plural. The infinitive in *-an* and its inflected form in *-anne* were reduced to a single form in *-en* in Middle English, and finally to the present form by the loss of this *-en* ending as in many other words. The *to*, now considered part of the infinitive form, belonged originally only to the inflected form, but gradually became established with all infinitives except after auxiliaries and a few other verbs. The participial ending *-ende* was displaced in Middle English by the suffix *-ing, -inge*, probably by analogy of verbal substantives in *-ing*, from Old English *-ung, -ing*.

453. The forms of the preterit system in Old English were as follows : —

		WEAK	STRONG
	INDICATIVE		
Singular	1 dēmde		band
	2 dēmdes(t)		bunde
	3 dēmde		band
Plural	1, 2, 3 dēmdon		bundon

SUBJUNCTIVE-OPTATIVE

Singular	1, 2, 3 dēmde		bunde
Plural	1, 2, 3 dēmden		bunden

PARTICIPLE

(ge)dēmed   (ge)bunden

454. By ordinary inflectional changes, as the weakening of *-on* to *-en* and the final loss of the *en, e* endings, most of these forms were reduced to those of Modern English. As in the present tense the indicative second singular ending in *-est* has been displaced by the corresponding plural form. The inflection of the preterit of strong verbs was complicated by the use of two stems. Under the levelling tendency sometimes one form, sometimes the other, came to be used in both singular and plural. In *bind*, the preterit *bound* springs from the plural root, § 425. In *sing* and *write*, the preterits *sang* and *wrote* come from the singular stem, in which they are followed by the somewhat larger number of the strong class. In early Modern English the second person singular of the strong preterit took *-est* by analogy of weak verbs, but this has since been lost as in the present tense. The subjunctive-optative also lost all vestige of the original inflection, and no longer differs from the preterit

indicative. Instead of it, the compound forms with auxiliaries are usually used.

455. The weak participle does not differ from the preterit, as already mentioned in § 408. The strong participle has lost the suffix *-en* in some cases, as in stems ending in two consonants or in a nasal. Such forms as *bounden*, *shrunken*, *sunken*, are adjectives only. The suffix has also been lost if the verb has become weak or the participle has been replaced by the preterit through the influence of analogy. Some adjectives in *-en*, from participles of strong verbs that have become weak, are still found, as *laden*, *graven*, § 434. In stems ending in a vowel or *r* the suffix *-en* has become *n*. Examples are *seen*, *drawn*, *born*, *torn;* and *borne*, *done*, *gone*, with mute *e*.

Compound Forms

456. In addition to the simple inflectional system of the verb, there were in Old English the beginnings of most of the compound forms belonging to the language to-day. Besides the two inflected tenses already described, compound forms for perfect (present perfect), pluperfect (past perfect), and future were sometimes used. Only the compound future perfect, which is even now uncommon, did not occur. Besides, there was in Old English a passive voice made up of past participle and the weak verbs *bēon* (*wesan*) 'be' or *weorðan* 'become.' The beginnings of the Modern English potential mode may also be seen in certain uses of the verbs *may*, *can*, etc., with infinitives. The special discussion of the compound forms belongs to syntax, but it may here be noted that, while there were

compound forms in Old English, they had not displaced inflected forms in similar uses.

457. The history of one particular tense, the future, deserves more special notice. In Old English, *shall* and *will* were used with infinitives, but usually with a clear recognition of the original meanings of the verbs ' ought ' and ' wish.' During the Middle English period the future came to be regularly expressed by the auxiliary *shall*. Toward the close of the same period *will* was also used along with *shall* in the first person to express a promise or a threat. In the modern period, *will*, which had begun to be used in the first person for promises and threats, came to be used in the second and third persons to express futurity. By the middle of the seventeenth century the present usage had fully established itself ; that is, *will* in the first and *shall* in the second and third persons to express a promise or threat, *shall* in the first person, and *will* in the second and third, to express futurity. This distinction has sometimes been lost in dialects, and is occasionally ignored by good speakers and writers. Besides, interrogative sentences have their own distinctive usage, and *shall* sometimes retains an older sense of obligation, when it does not conform to the scheme above.

CHAPTER XX

ADVERBS AND OTHER PARTICLES

THE ADVERB

458. The classes of adverbs requiring special attention in a history of English are those formed from nouns, adjectives, and pronouns by derivative endings. These alone have suffered considerable changes. Those formed from adjectives are by far the most numerous. In Old English, adverbs derived from adjectives had most commonly the suffix *-e.* Examples are *hearde, wīde < heard, wīd* 'hard, wide.' If the adjective itself ended in *-e,* the adverb was unchanged in form, as OE. *clǣne < clǣne* 'clean.' A few Old English adverbs, some of them without corresponding adjectives, ended in *-a,* as *sōna* 'soon.' This final *a* became *-e* in Middle English.

459. By the loss of final *e* in Middle English, adverbs of this sort came to have the same form as the adjective. Some of these have remained to the present day in standard English, as *hard, fast, first,* and many more are found in dialectal English and in the older language of poetry. For it is historically inaccurate to say that the poet uses the adjective instead of the adverb, since he is but continuing the usage of an older adverbial form. In standard English, most of these older adverbs have taken the more distinctive adverbial ending *-ly.*

460. Adverbs are now formed regularly by adding *-ly* to
the adjective, and this adverbial derivative has come down
to us from the earliest times. The suffix in Old English,
however, was not *-ly* but *-līce*, allied to *like*. This gave in
Southern English of the middle period the form *-liche* so
common in Chaucer, but in Northern and Midland *-lik*.
In the latter, the final consonant of the unaccented syllable
was then lost, as in the weak, or unstressed form of *ik* ' I,'
§ 365. This adverbial *-ly* has become the predominant
suffix in Modern English, and has been added by analogy
to many adverbs to which it did not originally belong, as
well as to foreign words. In some cases there are two
forms, one with, the other without *-ly*, as *hard — hardly*,
wide — widely, *even — evenly*. These usually have slightly
different meanings or use.

461. Some adverbs were formed from adjectives in Old
English by adding *-unga*, *-inga*, but these have not been
preserved to the modern speech. A few were also formed
from nouns with the suffix *-ling*. In Modern English this
ending was confused with *-long*, as in *headlong, sidelong*, the
last of which also appears as *sideling*.

462. Some adverbs are derived from the oblique cases of
adjectives. Examples of those formed from the accusative
case are *enough*, *full*, and adverbs in *-ward*, as *homeward*,
upward, backward. Adverbs from the genitive case are
else < OE. *elles, unawares < unwares, upwards < upweardes*.
Since Old English times the genitive forms have been some-
what increased in number. For instance, *eftsoons* and *for-
wards* were in Old English *eftsōna* and *forweard*. The
numeral adverbs *once, twice, thrice* are also examples of the

extension of the genitive suffix, the spelling *-ce* being put for
voiceless *s* < ME. *-es*. There are also at present a few
adverbs made up of a preposition and an adjective, and
these are in some cases from Old English forms, as *together*
< *togædere*, *along* < *andlong*, *without* < *wiðūt*, *before* < *be-
foran*.

463. Some adverbs have also been formed from the
oblique cases of nouns. An example of an older genitive
used as an adverb is *needs* < OE. *nēades* in such expressions
as ' he must *needs* die.' The instrumental case accounts for
the adverb *sore* in ' he was *sore* afraid.' In *whilom* (OE.
hwīlum) the dative-instrumental plural is preserved. In
piecemeal is preserved the shortened form of an old suffix
mǣlum. An old accusative occurs in *alway* < *ealne weg*.
In Middle and early Modern English other adverbs made
up of *way* and a modifying adjective were formed, as *mid-
way, straightway, someway*. In a similar manner an old
noun *wise*, ' manner, way,' in composition with certain com-
mon adjectives formed the adverbs *otherwise, nowise, like-
wise*. Later the noun *way* in compounds became *-ways* by
analogy of genitives, and it was then confused with *-wise*.
Finally both came to be added to nouns as well as to adjec-
tives, so that there are such forms as *lengthways, lengthwise,
endways, endwise*.

464. Two other nouns, *time* and *while*, have formed ad-
verbs in composition with adjectives, as *meantime, sometime,
meanwhile*. There are also the genitive formations *some-
times, oftimes*, by analogy. Here may be placed many
prepositional phrases that have become adverbs, as *away* <
on weg, *beside* < *be sīdan*, *to-night* < *tō niht*. In a similar

manner certain French phrases consisting of a preposition
and a noun became adverbs. Examples are *apart, apace,*
around < OF. *en rond*, ME. *on rounde, perchance, per-*
adventure.

465. Some adverbs have been formed from pronouns, or
pronominal roots. Thus *the* in such expressions as *the more,*
the better, and in *nevertheless* or the older *natheless*, is in
use an old instrumental of the demonstrative *the, that,*
§ 381. Of pronominal origin also are certain adverbs of
place answering the question *where, whither, whence*. There
are in Modern English, as in the oldest period, three series
from the pronominal roots of *he, that*, and *what*. They are
here — hither — hence ; there — thither — thence ; where —
whither — whence. Besides, many pronominal adverbs have
been formed by the union of a pronominal adverb with a
preposition, or even with an adjective. Of the first sort are
therefore, wherefore, thereof, thereupon ; of the second are
somewhere, anywhere, elsewhere. The compounds are due
to a gradual union of two separate words constantly used
together. Of pronominal origin also are *why, when*, and
thus.

466. In Old English, adverbs derived from adjectives
admitted of comparison, the comparative and superlative
being the same as for adjectives. In other words, the com-
parative and superlative of the adjective could be used as
adverbs. We still use the comparative of the adjective as
an adverb in some cases, as *harder, nearer*. The similar
superlative use is preserved only in a few adverbial phrases,
as *at best, at least, at worst*. The Middle English form of
these phrases included the demonstrative pronoun, as *at*

(at the) *best*, and a similar form, *at the best*, is sometimes found in Modern English, but without the sanction of best usage.

467. It has been pointed out, § 158, that the borrowed words of a language are usually nouns, adjectives, and verbs, but seldom words of any other class. It is true there are in English some adverbs of Old French origin. These are due especially to the fact that the Old French adjective was sometimes used as an adverb without change of form. Thus *certain*, *scarce*, are sometimes adverbs in use. But in general these and other French words have taken the more distinctive adverbial ending *-ly*, as *scarcely*, *certainly*, or *-y* in the case of French adjectives ending in *-le*, as *nobly*, *possibly*. Exceptionally *very* is more common than the extended form *verily*. There are besides some adverbs of Old French origin from prepositional phrases, as noticed in § 464.

PREPOSITIONS

468. Closely allied to adverbs are the prepositions, which are in fact adverbs in origin and often retain adverbial uses. For example *at* in ' he struck *at* him,' is an adverb, while the same word in ' he is *at* the door ' is a preposition. In Old English prepositions were simple or compound. The simple prepositions preserved to Modern English are *at*, *after*, *for*, *from*, *in* (§ 52), *of*, *on*, *out*, *over*, *to*, *through*, *under*, *with*. To these *by* was added in Middle English. In the same period *with*, which meant ' against,' seldom ' with,' came to be used for ' with ' alone, displacing *mid* in that sense. The confusion arose through such expressions

as *fight with*, in which the preposition could have either sense. At the same time *till* came into more general use beside *to*.

469. Compound prepositions were derived from phrases composed of a preposition and a noun or adjective in an oblique case, or from expressions made up of prepositions and adverbs of place used in a pronominal sense. Of the first kind are *among, again, amidst, between, betwixt, beside*. Of the second class are *above, about, before, beyond, behind, beneath, underneath, within, without*. There are also *toward*, from *to* and the adverbial ending *ward, unto* an old compound form, and *until* used first in Middle English. In the same period *except* was adopted from Old French, the word being a participle from OF. *excepter*.

470. The list of prepositions has been considerably increased in Modern English. Especially noticeable are certain phrases used as prepositions although not written as compounds. Examples are *as to, as regards, in respect to, in accordance with*.

CONJUNCTIONS AND INTERJECTIONS

471. Conjunctions, like prepositions, are in their origin adverbs, or sometimes pronouns, as the conjunction *that*. Some common conjunctions are Old English. Examples of simple conjunctions preserved from Old English times are *and, if, for, yet, that, since, so, than* (*then*), § 146, *though*. There are also many compound conjunctions, as *but* < OE. *be ūtan, therefore, wherefore, because*. Some of these belong to the oldest English, some to Middle English,

and some are modern. A few contain French words, as *because*. Beside *and* from Old English, there came into the language in Middle English the Norse word *and* 'if.' This remained in early Modern English in the form *and* (*an*), but is now no longer used. Many new conjunctions have been formed in Modern English from adverbial uses of simple or compound words, or phrases, as *forasmuch, notwithstanding, as well as*.

472. Interjections are sometimes classed separately, rather from use than because of any distinctive forms which they have. That they are not strictly a separate class is clear from the fact that almost any word or sentence may be used as an interjection or exclamation. Certain words constantly used as interjections may be mentioned. Of Old English origin are *lo, woe, welaway, what*, and others. *Alas* is from Old French. The origin of many others is doubtful, while many are strictly modern.

PARTICLES OF NEGATION, AFFIRMATION, AND INTERROGATION

473. Negative and interrogative particles are adverbs in origin. In Old English the common negative particle was *ne*, used alone or in composition with a few words, as *næs = ne was*. In early Modern English *ne* was lost, being supplanted by the stronger *not* < OE. *nāht*. In Old English *nā* < *ne ā(n)* was also used with *ne*, and this has remained instead of *not* in certain expressions as *that is no worse*. This *no* is also our common word of denial, *nay* derived from Norse being antiquated. The single negative in Old English was usually strengthened by another, some-

times by two or three others. This use of the double nega-
tive to strengthen negation early disappeared from standard
Modern English, no doubt under the influence of Latin,
although it is still common among uneducated people.

474. The Modern English affirmative particle *yes*, as well
as the older *yea*, was found in Old English, the one *gē*, the
other *gēse*, probably compounded of *gē* and *swā* ' so.' The
interrogative particles are *where, whither, when, whence,
how, why*, all from the stem of the interrogative-indefinite
who. Of these *where, whither, whence* have been already
noticed in § 465, and *why* in § 386. *How* is from OE.
hū < *hwū.   *When < OE*. *hwænne* has *e* instead of *a*
through lack of sentence stress, as in the case of *then*,
§ 146.

APPENDIX

SPECIMENS OF OLD, MIDDLE, AND EARLY MODERN ENGLISH *

OLD ENGLISH (WEST SAXON) OF THE NINTH CENTURY

Ohthere sǣde his hláforde,[1] Ælfrede cyninge, [2]ðæt he ealra
  Ohthere said [to] his   lord,   Alfred   king,   that he [of] all

Norðmonna norðmest[3] búde.[4] He cwæð ðæt he búde on[5]
  Northmen   northmost   dwelt.   He quoth that he dwelt in

ðǣm lande norðweardum wið[d] ðá Westsǣ. He sǣde ðeah
  the   land   northward over against the West sea. He said though

ðæt ðæt land sie[7] swiðe lang norð ðonan; ac hit is eal
  that that land is   very   long north thence; but it is all

weste,[8] buton on feawum stowum[9] styccemǣlum[10] wíciað[11]
  waste, but ' except ' in   few   places   here and there   dwell

Finnas, on huntoðe on wintra ond on sumera on fiscaðe be
  Finns, in   hunting in   winter and in summer in fishing by

ðǣre sǣ. He sǣde ðæt he æt sumum cirre[12] wolde fandian[13]
  the   sea.   He said that he at some ' one ' time would find [out]

hú longe ðæt land norðryhte[14] lǣge, oððe hwæðer ǣnig mon
  how long ' far ' that land right north lay ' extended ' or whether any   man

---

* In the translation of these selections the corresponding Modern English
word or some form of the same root is used, if possible, whether exactly
idiomatic or not; when not entirely idiomatic, a second meaning is some-
times given in ' '. A word in italics is not derived from the corresponding
word in the selection; a word in ( ) is the corresponding word, but is not
necessary to the translation; a word in [ ] has no corresponding word in
the selection. A borrowed word in the selection, or in the translation if
not occurring in the original, is put in heavy type. Occasionally the spell-
ing has been slightly modified.

be-norðan [15] ðǣm wēstenne būde.   Ðā [16] fōr [17] hē norðryhte
(be) north [of]   that   waste   *dwelt.*   *Then*   fared   he   right north

be ðǣm lande ; lēt him [18] ealne weg ðæt wēste land on ðæt
by   the   land; [he] left (him)   alway(s)   that   waste   land on the

stēorbord,[19] ond ðā wīdsǣ on ðæt bæcbord [20] ðrīe dagas.
starboard,   and the wide sea on the backboard 'larboard' three days.

Ðā wæs hē swā feor norð swā [21] ðā hwælhuntan firrest [22] farað.
Then was he so   far north *as*   the whale hunters *farthest*   fare.

Ðā fōr hē ðā gīet norðryhte swā feor swā hē meahte on
Then fared he (then) yet   right north so far *as* he might in

ðǣm ōðrum [23] ðrīm dagum gesiglan.   Ðā bēag [24] ðæt land
the other 'second' three   days   sail.   *Then* bowed 'turned' the land

ðǣr ēastryhte, oððe [25] sēo [26] sǣ in on ðæt lond, hē nysse [27]
there right east,   *or*   the   sea in on that land, he wist [not]

hwæðer,[28] būton hē wisse ðæt hē ðǣr bād [29] westanwindes [30]
which, but 'except' he wist   that he there abode 'waited' winds west

ond hwōn [31] norðan, ond siglde ðā ēast be lande swā swā hē
and *somewhat*   north,   and sailed *then* east by [the] land so *as* he

meahte on fēower dagum siglan.   Ðā sceolde [32] hē ðǣr
might in four days sail.   *Then*   *had*   he there [to]

bīdan ryhtnorðanwindes,[33] for ðǣm ðæt land bēag   ðǣr
bide 'await' right-north winds   for that   the   land *bowed* 'turned' there

sūðryhte, oððe sēo sǣ in on ðæt land, hē nysse hwæðer. —
right south,   *or*   *the* sea in on that land, he wist [not] *which.*

From King Alfred's *Orosius.*

NOTES

[1] See § 149; the word is here dative. [2] Both ð and þ, § 223, occur in the MS. of this selection, but ð has been used throughout, as usually for OE. words in this book. [3] See, for ending, § 348. [4] The root of this word occurs in MnE. *build.* [5] See § 52. [6] See § 468. [7] This form, not found in MnE., contains the *s* of *is.* [8] MnE. *waste* is from French, notwithstanding its apparent resemblance to OE. *wēste.* [9] The root occurs in MnE. *stow* 'to place,' and in place names as *Chepstow.* [10] Would be MnE. *stitchmeal,* if preserved; the first part is MnE. *stitch (stick),* the second, the ending of *piecemeal.* [11] The root, borrowed from Latin *vicus,* § 165, still occurs in place names, as *Hardwick.* [12] The root occurs in *ajar,* § 229, *c* having become *ch* in ME. [13] A weak verb from the preterit singular *fand,* a strong verb of Class III, § 424. [14] The adverb *right* here means 'straight, directly.' [15] An OE. compound preposition governing the dative. [16] MnE. *then* is from the same pronominal root, but a different form. [17] An OE

strong preterit of Class VI, § 433, the present of which is *fare*, now weak.
[18] An OE. reflexive dative meaning 'for himself.' [19] See § 148. [20] MnE.
larboard is from a ME. word; the older name refers to the fact that the
helmsman, with a paddle over the right, i.e. starboard 'steering-side,' § 148,
would necessarily have his back to the left side of the ship. [21] MnE. *as* is
the weak form of *also* < OE. *alswā;* for similar doublets, see § 146.
[22] MnE. *farthest* gets its *th* by analogy of *furthest*, § 350. [23] See § 358.
[24] MnE. *bowed* 'bent, turned' is from the OE. present of this verb, *būgan*,
§ 423. [25] Allied to the OE. prefix *oð*, § 137; for MnE. *or*, see § 397.
[26] See § 380. [27] For *ne + wisse* by contraction, § 253; for *wisse*, see § 440.
[28] See § 396. [29] See § 419. [30] First part of compound means 'from the
west'; the whole expression, 'wind from a point a little north of west.'
[31] An adverb from the root of *who*, § 384. [32] With the older sense of
'necessity,' MnE. 'had to.' [33] Means 'wind from a point directly north.'

MIDDLE ENGLISH (EAST MIDLAND) OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Ðis gēre[1] fōr þē[2] king Stēphne ōfer sǣ[3] tō Normandi and
This year fared the king Stephen over sea to Normandy and
thēr wes[4] underfangen, for-þi þæt[5] hī[6] wēnden þæt hē sculde[7]
there was received, for-that that *they* weened that he should
bēn alswic alse[8] thē ēom[9] wes, and for hē hadde get[10] his
be all-such as the 'his' uncle was, and for he had yet his
tresor; ac he tōdēld[11] it and scatered sotlice. Micel
treasure; *but* he dealt it [out] and scattered [it] sotlike 'foolishly.' Much
hadde Henri king gadered gōld and sylver, and nā gōd ne[12]
had Henry king gathered gold and silver, and no good (ne)
dide mē[13] for his saule tharof. Ðā[14] þē king Stēphne to
did men for his soul thereof. *When* the king Stephen to
Engleland cōm, þā macod hē his gadering æt Oxeneford,
England came *then* made he his gathering at Oxford,
and þār hē nam[15] þe biscop[16] Roger of Serebeti, and Alexander
and there he *took* the bishop Roger of Salisbury, and Alexander
biscop of Lincol, and tē[17] Canceler[18] Roger hise neves,[19] and
bishop of Lincoln, and *the Chancellor* Roger his nephews, and
dide ælle in prisun til[20] hī iāven[21] up hēre[22] castles. Ðā
did 'put' all in prison till *they gave* up *their* castles. *When*
thē swīkes undergǣton þæt hē mīlde man was, and sōfte
the traitors perceived that he mild man was, and softe
and gōd, and nā justise ne dide, þā dide hī alle wunder.[23]
and good, and no justice (ne) did, *then* did *they* all wonders.

Hī hadden him manred[24] maked and āthes swōren, ac hī
They had [to] him **homage** made and oaths sworn, *but they*

nān trēuthe ne heolden; alle hē wǣron forswōren and hēre
no truth 'troth' (ne) held; all *they* were forsworn and *their*

trēothes forlōren,[25] for ǣvric rīce[26] man his **castle**s makede
truths 'troths' *lost* 'ruined,' for every rich man his castles made

and agænes[27] him heolden, and fylden þē land ful of **castle**s.
and against him held, and filled the land full of castles.

Hī swencten[28] swīþe þē wrecce[29] men of þē land mid castel-
They afflicted *much* the wretched men of the land *with* castle-

weorces. Ðā þē **castle**s wāren maked, þā fylden hī mid
works. *When* the castles were made, *those* filled *they with*

dēovles[30] and yvele men. Ðā nāmen hī þā men þe[31] hi
devils and evil men. Then *took* they those men *that they*

wēnden þæt ani gōd[32] hefden, bāthe be nihtes[33] and be daeis,
weened that any goods had, both by night and by day,

carlmen[34] and wimmen, and diden[35] heom in **prisun** efter
carlmen and women, and did 'put' *them* in prison after

gōld and sylver, and **pīn**ed[36] heom untellendlice[37] **pīn**ing;
gold and silver, and *tortured* them *unspeakable* *torture;*

for ne wǣren nǣvre nān **martyr**s[38] swā **pīn**ed alse hī wǣron.
for (ne) were never no martyrs so *tortured* as *they* were.

— From the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1137).

NOTES

[1] In this selection *g* is still used for consonantal *y*, except as mentioned in note 21; it was soon displaced by ȝ, and later by *y*, § 364. [2] The character þ had replaced ð, except as the latter stood for the conjunction *that;* or the former gave way to modern *th*. [3] The digraph *ǣ*, used in OE. (WS. especially), was soon replaced by *ē*. [4] The use of *ē̆* for *æ̆* was a peculiarity of Mercian, and was sometimes retained in Midland. [5] The whole expression means 'because'; the sign ð, always used for the conjunction *that* in the MS. of this selection, has been expanded to *þæt*. [6] Note that Norse *they*, § 373, was not yet used. [7] MnE. 'would.' [8] The ME. form of *as;* compare German *als*, and note 21 to previous selection. [9] Cognate with German *Oheim*, later replaced by the borrowed word *uncle;* note that the OE. diphthong had not yet become a monophthong, § 247. [10] Perhaps *gēt* at this time; see § 244. [11] The prefix *tō*- is cognate with Latin *dis*-, German *zu*-. [12] The common ME. negative, since lost. [13] Shortened form of *men* in indefinite sense, § 400. [14] Used in OE. also for *when* or *then*. [15] OE. *niman*, German *nehmen*, later displaced by Norse *take*, § 434.

[16] See § 167. [17] Initial *þ* (*th*) of pronominal words often became *t* in ME, after words ending in *t* or *d*. [18] For difference between *canceler* and *chancellor*, see § 176. [19] This form has been replaced, except in dialects, by the French cognate word. [20] See § 468. [21] See § 432; the spelling with *i*, instead of *g*, shows that this is the direct descendant of the OE. verb, and not yet replaced by the Norse word with hard *g*. [22] See § 373. [23] In bad sense of 'wondrous wicked deeds.' [24] Derived from *man*, as French *homage* from *homme* ' man.' [25] MnE. 'forlorn' with somewhat different meaning. [26] Meant 'powerful,' but later influenced in meaning by *riches* from French. [27] See § 234. [28] From root of *swink* ' labour,' § 427; literally ' make to labour.' [29] MnE. *wretched* has *d* by addition, § 234. [30] See § 167. [31] OE. relative particle, § 388, still retained in early ME. [32] OE. neuter plural *god* ' goods,' now a regular plural, § 325. [33] The OE. adverbial genitive, § 462, as in the expression ' he works *nights*,' where it is now regarded as a plural. [34] *Carl* is Norse and Scotch form of English *churl*, § 51. [35] *Do* once meant ' make, put.' [36] OE. *þin* < Lat. *pœna* ' punishment'; MnE. *pine* in ' peak and *pine*.' [37] The root is MnE. *tell*, so means ' unrelatable.' [38] See § 167.

MIDDLE ENGLISH (EAST MIDLAND) OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

And ȝee [1] schulle understonde that **Machamete** [2] was born in **Arabye**, that [3] was a **pore** [4] knave that kepte **camele**s, that wenten [5] with **marchante**s for **marchandise** ; and so befelle that he wente with the **marchande**s [6] into **Egipt** : and thei weren thanne [7] **cristene** [8] in tho [9] **partye**s. [10] And at the **deserte**s of **Arabye** he wente into a **chapelle** where a **eremyte** [11] dwelte. And when he **entred** into the **chapelle,** that was a lytille and a **low** thing and had but a lityl **dore** [12] and **a low,** than the **entree** began to wexe [13] so gret and so **large** and so high as though it had ben of a gret **mynstre,** [14] or the ȝate [15] of a **paleys.** [16] And this was the firste **myracle,** the **Sarazin**s seyn, [17] that **Machomete** dide in his ȝouthe. [18] After began he for to wexe wyse and riche, and he was a gret **astronomer** ; and after he was **governour** and **prince**

of the lond[19] of **Corrodane**, and he **govern**ed it fulle wisely.
— From the *Voyage and Travel of Sir John Maundeville*,
Chap. XIII (c. 1400).

<center>NOTES</center>

[1] ME. form of *ye*, § 364.　[2] ' Mahomet.'　[3] Common ME. relative, § 388.
[4] 'poor.'　[5] Note *t* for *d*, §§ 231, 413.　[6] Same as *marchantes* above.
[7] Not yet become *then*, § 146.　[8] See § 210.　[9] ME. plural of *that*, § 380.
[10] 'parts,' though the form is that of MnE. *party*.　[11] 'hermit.'　12. 'door.'
[13] 'wax, grow.'　[14] See § 167.　[15] 'gate'; would now be *yate*, but has been
displaced by the Norse form with hard *g*, § 170.　[16] 'palace.'　[17] 'say.
[18] 'youth.'　[19] 'land.'

MODERN ENGLISH OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Thenglisshmen[1] who were in thre **batayls**[2] lyeng on the
grounde to rest them,[3] as sone as they saw the **Frenchmen
aproche**, they rose upon their fete fayre and **easely**, without
any **hast**, and **arang**ed their **batayls**.　The first, which was
the **princes**[4] **batell**, the **archers** ther stod[5] in **maner** of a
herse,[6] and the men of **armes**[7] in the **botome**[8] of the **batayle**;
therle[9] of Northampton & **therle** of **Arundell** with the **second
batell** were on a **wyng** in good **order,** redy to **comfort** the
princes batayle if nede were.[10]　The **lordes** and **knyghtes**
of **France** came nat[11] to the **assemble togyder**[12] in good
order, for some came before and some came after in such
hast and yvell **order** the one of them dyd **trouble** another.
When the **French** kyng sawe thenglisshmen, his blode
chaunged, and᾽ sayde to his **marshals** " Make the **Geno-
wayes**[13] go on before and begynne the **batayle** in the name
of God and **Saynt Denyse**."　There were of the **Genowayes
cros**bowes about a fiftene thousand, but they were so wery
of goyng **afote**[14] that day a six **leages**[15] **armed** with their

crosbowes, that they sayde to their **constable**s " We be nat well **order**ed to fyght this day, for we be nat in the **case**[16] to do any great dede[17] of **arme**s, we have more nede of rest." These wordes came to the erle of **Alanson,** who sayd " A man is well at **ease** to be **charg**ed with suche a **sorte** of **rascalle**s, to be **faynt** and **fayle** nowe at most nede." — The Battle of Crecy, from the *Froissart* of Lord Berners (1523).

NOTES

[1] ' The Englishmen '; see *therle* = ' the earl' below. [2] ' lines of battle.' [3] Personal pronoun used as a reflexive, § 374. [4] Note the genitive in *-es* with no apostrophe, and see § 322. [5] ' stood.' [6] ' hearse,' i.e. triangular form ; see the word in Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary.* [7] See § 207. [8] That is, behind the archers. [9] See first note. [10] Old subjunctive-optative, meaning ' should be,' § 445. [11] ' not'; see § 241 for a similar change of short *o*. [12] ' together.' [13] ' Genoese.' [14] ' afoot.' [15] ' leagues.' [16] ' condition '; see the dictionary for meaning. [17] ' deed.'

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THE numbers refer to sections. Subjects and names begin with capitals; words used as examples, except proper names, with small letters. Abbreviations are as follows : adj. = adjective ; adv. = adverb ; art. = article ; conj. = conjunction ; demon. = demonstrative ; indef. = indefinite ; inter. = interrogative ; n. = noun ; pref. = prefix ; pron. = pronoun ; rel. = relative ; sb. = substantive ; suf. = suffix ; vb. = verb.

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